FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

64

FBI

Date: 10/17/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438794)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-5718)

RE: COMINFIL OF SCLC,
IS - C

b7D

[redacted] and Atlanta airtel and LHM dated 11/8/65, captioned as above, concerning conversation between CHAUNCEY ESKRIDGE and DOROTHY F. COTTON on 11/5/65.

On 11/5/65, ESKRIDGE told COTTON the U. S. Treasury Department had requested information regarding the "SCLC Foundation." COTTON furnished ESKRIDGE very limited information regarding the questions he asked on that date and ESKRIDGE indicated that some of the information he needed he would "dream up."

[redacted] b7D

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Atlanta
AGS:cmp
(5)

100-438794-1603

ICC 924 94D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7-21-80 BY SP4JRM/L

5 4688
7 3518
8 0514

OCT 19 1966

INT. SEC.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

55 OCT 1966

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4JRM/a
ON 9-3-80

SECRET

Mr. W.C. Sullivan

10/17/66

F.J. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. D.M. Wells

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

62
67D

[redacted] advised that on 10/15/66 Stanley Levison and Bayard Rustin were in contact. Both have subversive backgrounds and are principal advisers to Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference. They discussed a current article appearing in the "New York Times" concerning King's stand in the civil rights movement. Rustin argued that King cannot continually put himself in the middle of the movement. Rustin asserted that King should take a firmer stand closer to that repudiating the "black power" groups. [S]

Levison told Rustin he is trying to arrange a trip for King and his wife to Africa and Latin America to place emphasis on King being interested in the poor, both white and black. [S]

On the same date Levison was also in contact with Andrew Young, Executive Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, at which time they discussed the "New York Times" article concerning King. They agreed that a letter should be directed to the newspaper setting forth what King's position is in the civil rights movement. They discussed what the contents of the letter should be. Young stated he felt the Administration was trying to divide "us." He added that King is not ready to say this publicly. [S]

Levison later the same day contacted Martin Luther King, Jr. When discussing the newspaper article King stated "that just shows you how you can get into a bind." Levison suggested that King should send a letter to the "New York Times", and clearly state his position. King advised he did not want to be lumped in as taking the same role as Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Whitney Young of the Urban League, opposing Black Power. [S]

100-106670

SECRET

1 - 100-438794 (Southern Christian Leadership Conference)

DMW:lmm (6)

CONTINUED - OVER

100-438794-D
NOT RECORDED
184 OCT 21 1966

Enclosure

61 OCT 27 1966

Classified by 6080
Exempt from GDS, Category
Date of Declassification Indefinite

EXTENDED BY SP4JRM/a
REASON FOR EXTENSION
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 10-17-86

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Baumgardner to Sullivan Memorandum
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
100-106670

SECRET

RECOMMENDATION:

That copies of the enclosure be forwarded by routing slips to the Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President; The Acting Attorney General; Deputy Attorney General; and Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley and Doar.

SECRET

FBI

SECRET

CONFIDENTIAL

Date: 10/19/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438794) - 1604

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-149194)

SUBJECT: COMINFIL SCLC
IS-C
(OO: Atlanta)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

b2 b7D

Enclosed are ten copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) containing information from [redacted] a source close to STANLEY LEVISON. Two copies are enclosed for the Atlanta Office since that office is origin in the SCLC and KING cases. [redacted] was the second source used in the lhm. [redacted]

b1

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP4JRM/RK
REASON FOR EXTENSION FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR 10-20-2
DECLASSIFICATION

54688
73518
80514

4 - Bureau (100-438794) (Encls. 10) (RM)
(1 - 100-106670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
2 - Atlanta (100-5718) (Encls. 2) (Info) (RM)
(1 - 100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.) 100-438794-1604
1 - New York (100-73250) (CLARENCE JONES) (42)
1 - New York (100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (42)
1 - New York (100-148289) (HARRY WACHTEL) (42)
1 - New York (100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (42)
1 - New York (100-149194) (41)

JMK:gmd
(12)

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Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
ED 6, 11-8-77

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SECRET

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted] b7C b7D

SAS [redacted] and [redacted] were the agents who observed the activity at the New York Hilton Hotel on 10/18/66. b7C

This LHM is classified "Secret" because it contains information from [redacted] and [redacted] sources which furnished information concerning racial matters in the U.S. and the Communist infiltration thereof. [redacted] b2 b7D b1

SECRET

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

New York, New York
October 19, 1966

Bureau 100-438794

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP4 JRM/M
REASON FOR EXTENSION FCIS, II, 1-2.4.2 2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 10-19-86
54688
80514.73518

Re: Communist Infiltration of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) Internal Security - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on October 15, 1966, that Clarence Jones had recently introduced Douglas Pugh (of the Ford Foundation) to Martin Luther King, President of the SCLC. King noted that he was scheduled to meet with Bundy (McGeorge Bundy, Director of the Ford Foundation) on Tuesday (October 18, 1966), after which he wants to work out a proposal which would be helpful to the Foundation.

[redacted] b70

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information on October 18, 1966, indicating that Stanley Levison and Martin Luther King were in contact on that date. King related that he had had a meeting with McGeorge Bundy of the Ford Foundation earlier in the morning in the office of Harry Wachtel. King said the meeting went very well and in fact, the Foundation plans to send some personnel to Atlanta to work out the proposal concerning voter registration in the South. [S]

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

A[redacted]
HE[redacted]SSIFIED
E[redacted]
OT[redacted]

SECRET
~~Group I~~
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

Classified by 6 OPC
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
LED/b/a 11-8-77

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Re: Communist Infiltration of the SCLC
Internal Security - C

King said Bundy would present the proposal on voter registration to his Board (Ford Foundation Board) in December, 1966. Bundy, according to King, is convinced that the Foundation will make a large grant to the SCLC.

King then reminded Levison of the meeting scheduled for 2:30 PM that date in his suite at the New York Hilton Hotel. King said Dr. Kenneth Clark (psychology professor at City College, New York, New York), Clarence Jones, Andy Young (Executive Director of the SCLC) would be there to meet with him. Levison said he would be there without fail. King told him to come to room 3121.

On October 18, 1966, at 2:07 PM, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed Stanley Levison enter the New York Hilton Hotel elevator bank which services the 31st floor. He was observed getting off the elevator at 2:12 PM, from which he walked to the telephone booth in the lobby where he made several telephone calls. As he was getting ready to get on the elevator at 2:29 PM, Levison met Martin Luther King and Andy Young, who were also waiting for the elevator. They got on the elevator at 2:31 PM. At 2:36 PM, Dr. Kenneth Clark was observed taking the same elevator. He was followed by Clarence Jones at 2:36 PM.

Stanley Levison

[redacted] [S]

b1

Re: Communist Infiltration of the SCLC
Internal Security - C

Clarence Jones

Clarence Jones is the General Counsel to the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York, New York.

[redacted] b1

The Labor Youth League has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Harry Wachtel

Harry Wachtel is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, New York, New York.

[redacted] b1

A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild is attached hereto.

[redacted] b1

Re: Communist Infiltration of the SCLC
Internal Security - C

[redacted] b1

With respect to the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, it is to be noted that this organization is an adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), of which Martin Luther King, Jr., is the president, and serves to raise funds for the SCLC.

Re: Communist Infiltration of the SCLC
Internal Security - C

1. APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Lawyers Guild:

"National Lawyers Guild

"1. Cited as a Communist front. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149).

"2. Cited as aCommunist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.' (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)

"3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.' (Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

SECRET

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438794) DATE: 10/21/66

FROM : SAC, COLUMBIA (100-28)

SUBJECT: COMINFIL OF SCLC
IS - C

Re Columbia airtel to Director dated 8/23/66. -1567

Contact with reliable sources of Columbia Office have failed to produce any information concerning captioned matter.

Columbia Office will maintain contact with all reliable sources to determine any information in this matter.

The Bureau and Atlanta will be kept advised.

2 - Bureau (Rm)
2 - Atlanta (100-5718) (Rm)
1 - Columbia

NLP:jc
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-21-80 BY SP4 JRM/ar
5 4688, 73518, 80514

REC 30 100-438794-1605

12 OCT 24 1966

54 OCT 28 1966

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

4-750 (2-7-79)

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4-750 (2-7-79)

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FBI/

1 - Mr. Wells

SAC, Atlanta (100-5718)

October 25, 1966

Director, FBI (100-438794)

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
IS - C

Reurairtel and LHM dated 10/10/66.

The first page of the above referenced LHM is confusing and not clearly stated. By return mail, you are instructed to submit an amended page one clarifying this matter and, in particular, the information contained in paragraph two.

DMW:cst
(4)

b1

NOTE: [redacted]

B

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP-4 JR Miel
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 10-25-86

100-438794-1608

54688, 73518
80514

REC-3

25 OCT 25 1966

EX-104

MAILED 7
OCT 24 1966
COMM-FBI

CONFIDENTIAL

56 NOV 14 1966

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4-750 (2-7-79)

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FBI/DOJ

CONFIDENTIAL

1 - DeLoach
1 - Sullivan
1 - Baumgardner
1 - D.M. Wells

DECLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY ..... REASON FOR EXTENSION FOIM, II, 1-2.4.2 ..... DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 10-17-86

8626

October 17, 1966

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The following information has been supplied by a confidential source of this Bureau who has furnished reliable information in the past.

On October 15, 1966, Stanley Levison, an adviser of Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was in contact with Bayard Rustin, another of King's advisers. The two discussed what position King should assume in the civil rights movement. Rustin argued that King cannot continually put himself in the middle because this is the wrong position according to a large segment of the white liberals and the Negro middle class. Levison did not agree entirely stating that it might be that way with some white liberals.

Levison explained that King's position is not too different from others. There is only a margin of difference. At the moment, King does not want to ignore or isolate those who have an erroneous slogan. Rustin was of the opinion that King should take a firm stand repudiating the "black power" groups.

Levison mentioned he had talked about arranging a trip for King and his wife to Africa and Latin America to place emphasis on King's being interested in the poor, both white and black. Upon his return, King would then be the spokesman for both white and black poor people.

On the same date, Levison was also in contact with Andrew Young, Executive Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Levison acquainted Young with the "New York Times"

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-106670-2740

100-106670
D- 100-438794 (SCLC)

CONFIDENTIAL

SEE NOTE PAGE 3.

DMW:deh
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Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

100-438794-

NOT RECORDED
184 OCT 21 1966

1 OCT 27 1966

SECRET

story captioned "Doctor King Endorses Racial Statement, Backs Negro Repudiation of Black Power Concept." Levison suggested that King write a letter to the "Times" clearly defining his stand in the civil rights movement.

Young explained, he feels King, in his statement, should say that while he realized the role of the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, he never thought their role was synonymous with his. Also, he understands the frustration of the black people and their disillusionment with the Administration and that he is not ready to give up. Young indicated that he believes the Administration is trying to divide "us." He added that King is not ready to say this publicly.

Levison indicated he would get something to the "New York Times" by Monday.

Later the same day, Levison was also in contact with Martin Luther King, Jr. When discussing the newspaper article, King stated "that just shows you how you can get into a bind." Levison stated he was convinced that Rustin did this. He also believes Rustin wants to box King in. Levison suggested King send a letter to the "New York Times." King advised that the only time he makes tactical errors is when he deals with Rustin. King added that he thought a letter to the newspaper stating his position was the only way out. He stated that he did not want to be lumped in as taking the same role as Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Whitney Young of the Urban League.

Stanley Levison is a long-time communist whose membership in the Communist Party, USA, has been established as of July, 1963.

During the early 1940's, Bayard Rustin was a member of the Young Communist League, an organization which has been designated subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. [redacted] b7c

SECRET TREAT as Yellow

CONFIDENTIAL

8628

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. SECRET

[redacted] b7c

The
Xerox copies to White House, Acting Attorney General, Deputy Attorney General, and Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley and Dear.

NOTE:

Classified "Confidential" inasmuch as the source for the above information is highly sensitive source in the racial field.

See memorandum from F. J. Baumgardner to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, dated 10/17/66, captioned as above, prepared by DMW:lmm.

SECRET CONFIDENTIAL

Treat as yellow

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FD-2 (Rev. 8-1-59)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SECRET

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
ATLANTA	ATLANTA	10/21/66	9/21/66 - 10/19/66

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE	SA [redacted] b7C	:cmp

CHARACTER OF CASE

INTERNAL SECURITY, - C

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] b7C 3/25/66 at Atlanta.

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY 5P4 SKM P
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 10/21/86

Portions excised and ~~DISCLOSURES~~ SENT TO NATIONAL ARCHIVES UNDER COURT ORDER.

LEADS:

CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 54668 80514 73518

Will continue to follow and report on semi annual basis communist infiltration of SCLC in connection with its activities in the Chicago area.

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Will continue to follow and report on semi annual basis activities of pertinent individuals reflecting Communist infiltration of SCLC.

THE INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

APPROVED JKP CON SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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3 - Atlanta (100-5718)

53 NOV 18 1966

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100-438794-1611

REC 20

ST-103

OCT 25 1966

REC 47

ST-107

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

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Date Fwd.	DATE FWD:	11/1/66
How Fwd.	HOW FWD:	RS
By	BY:	DMW/CA

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146 OCT 16 1970

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AT 100-5718

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1 - WFO (Info) (RM)

CONFIDENTIAL

AT 100-5718

CONFIDENTIAL

ATLANTA

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Will continue to follow and report on semi annual basis Communist infiltration of SCLC.

BALTIMORE, BIRMINGHAM, BOSTON, CINCINNATI, CLEVELAND, CHARLOTTE, COLUMBIA, DALLAS, DETROIT, INDIANAPOLIS, JACKSON, JACKSONVILLE, KNOXVILLE, LITTLE ROCK, LOS ANGELES, LOUISVILLE, MEMPHIS, MOBILE, MIAMI, NEW ORLEANS, NEW HAVEN, PHILADELPHIA, RICHMOND, SAN FRANCISCO, SAVANNAH, SPRINGFIELD, ST. LOUIS, TAMPA, WFO (INFORMATION)

An information copy of this report is furnished to each of the above offices inasmuch as these offices have, in the past, had SCLC activities in their territory, have SCLC officers residing in or have had some phase of SCLC activity in their territory.

[redacted]

b1

CONFIDENTIAL

4-750 (2-7-79)

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FBI

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted] c

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b1

[redacted] c

Observations made on 6/13/66 were by SAS [redacted] and [redacted] and on 5/2/66 by SA [redacted]

b7c

- H* -
(COVER PAGE)

CONFIDENTIAL

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNIT[illegible] OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP3
REASON FOR EXTENSION FOR [illegible] 2
[illegible] REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 10-21-86
5-29-77
TK/[illegible]

Copy to: 1 - G-2, Third Army, Fort McPherson, Ga. (RM)
1 - OSI, Robins Air Force Base, Ga. (RM)
1 - NIS, Charleston, South Carolina (RM)

Report of: SA[redacted] b7C Office: Atlanta, Georgia

Date: October 21, 1966

Field Office File #: 100-5718 Bureau File #: 100-438794

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF [illegible]
DATE 11/[illegible]/77 [illegible]
AMENDED [illegible] SENT 6/1/77

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: National headquarters Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) continue to be located 334 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga. Offices also maintained in Chicago, Illinois, Grenada, Mississippi, New York, New York, and Selma, Alabama. Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. continues as President of SCLC. Identity of officers, executive board, executive staff, regional representatives, field secretaries, field workers and headquarters office personnel, set forth. b7D

[redacted] SCLC major projects and activities set forth. JOHN BARBER, RANDOLPH T. BLACKWELL, HARRY G. BOYTE and CAROL HOOVER, each of whom has prior Communist Party (CP) background and/or affiliations, no longer members of SCLC executive staff; BLACKWELL commenced leave of absence 8/66, other 3 individuals terminated employment with SCLC. Reverend KING and other SCLC officers continue to seek and accept advice and assistance of individuals having CP background, principally CLARENCE JONES, STANLEY LEVISON, BAYARD RUSTIN and HARRY WACHTEL. LEVISON particularly active in fund raising activities handled through New York City SCLC office. Atlanta newspaper article 10/13/66 identified JONES, LEVISON, RUSTIN, RALPH HELSTEIN and WACHTEL, as among SCLC's "top leaders" and "SCLC's Research Committee." HELSTEIN has prior CP background.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF [illegible]
DATE 12/11/77

- P -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Classified by 6080
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
LED/bjw 9-77

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GROUP 1
Excluded from Automatic Downgrading and Declassification

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DETAILS:

Investigation in this matter has been directed solely to determining the extent of Communist infiltration of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Investigation has not been concerned with the legitimate civil rights activities of SCLC.

Where available characterizations of individuals, organizations and publications are set forth alphabetically in the Appendix Section of this report.

I. ORGANIZATION

A. Officers and Staff

At its 10th Annual Convention held August 8-11, 1966 in Jackson, Mississippi, SCLC distributed a program which on page 5, under the caption "Officers", set forth the following names:

[redacted]

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. .....President
Rev. C. K. Steele.....First Vice President
Rev. Joseph E. Lowery.....Second Vice President
Rev. Samuel W. Williams .....Third Vice President
Rev. Curtis Harris.....Fourth Vice President
Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth.....Secretary
Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy.....Treasurer
Mrs. Erna Dungee.....Assistant Secretary
Dr. Lawrence D. Reddick.....Historian
I.M. Augustine.....General Counsel
Dr. Major Jones.....Chaplain

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Under the caption "EXECUTIVE BOARD" of Subversive organization the program listed the following individuals:

Bishop Henry C. Bunton ..... Washington, D. C.
Mr. R. D. Drew ..... Clarksdale, Mississippi
Rev. Jesse Douglas ..... Montgomery, Alabama
Rev. George Dudley ..... Rocky Mount, North Carolina
Rev. Edward T. Graham ..... Miami, Florida
Mrs. Victoria Gray ..... Hattiesburg, Mississippi
Rev. W. H. Hall ..... Valdosta, Georgia
Dr. Aaron Henry ..... Clarksdale, Mississippi
Mr. Clarence Henry ..... New Orleans, Louisiana
Mr. Jessie Hill, Jr. ..... Atlanta, Georgia
Rev. B. L. Hooks ..... Memphis, Tennessee
Mr. Esau Jenkins ..... Charleston, South Carolina
Rev. Allen L. Johnson ..... Jackson, Mississippi
Rev. B. J. Johnson, Sr. ..... Atlanta, Georgia
Rev. A. D. King ..... Louisville, Kentucky
Rev. D. E. King ..... New York, N. Y.
Rev. M. L. King, Sr. ..... Atlanta, Georgia
Mr. John Lewis ..... Atlanta, Georgia
Mrs. Marion Bruce Logan ..... New York, N. Y.
Rev. T. Y. Rogers ..... Tuscaloosa, Alabama
Rev. S. S. Seay ..... Montgomery, Alabama
Dr. C. O. Simkins ..... Hollis Long Island, New York
Rev. Kelly M. Smith ..... Nashville, Tennessee
Rev. Nelson Smith ..... Birmingham, Alabama
Rev. Roland Smith ..... Atlanta, Georgia
Rev. Daniel B. Speed ..... Tallahassee, Florida
Mr. Andrew White ..... Nashville, Tennessee
Rev. R. G. Williams ..... Washington, D. C.
Rev. Virgil Wood ..... Roxbury 19, Massachusetts

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All GA
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all members of

The aforementioned SCLC program on pages 13 and 14 set forth the following:

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVES:

Rev. Richard Battles
Rev. Charles Butler
Rev. F. H. LaGarde
Rev. George Lawrence
Rev. Otis Moss
Rev. Milton Reid
Rev. Charles Kenzie Steele
Rev. Edgar G. Thomas, Jr.

all GA. + MISS

FIELD SECRETARIES:

B. T. Bonner, Texas
Golden Frinks, North Carolina
Mrs. Victoria Gray, Mississippi
Daniel Harrell, Alabama
Major Johns, Louisiana
Benjamin Mack, South Carolina
Albert Sampson, Chicago Ill.
Albert Turner, Alabama
Samuel B. Wells, Georgia

FIELD WORKERS:

Henry Brownlee
Benjamin Clark
Ann Gillie
Lester Hankerson
Eric Lindberg
James Orange

REGIONAL OFFICE STAFF:

Glaycella M. Allen, Secretary to Virginia Field Secretary
Henrietta Childs, Secretary, Washington Office
Mary Lou Finley, Secretary, Chicago Office
Adele Kanter, New York Office
William Stein, New York Office

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All Members of S.C.L.C.

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NATIONAL OFFICE STAFF:

Miss Eleanor Anderson, Finance Office
Mrs. Sandra Bass, Finance Office
Miss Irma Burton, Citizenship Education
Mrs. Xernona Clayton, Hostess

Tam Duffill, Public Relations
Mrs. Lynn Fitch, Staff Secretary
Robert Fitch, Staff Photographer
Miss Gloria Fraction, Secretary to Executive Director

Miss Debra Frankle, Secretary to Director of Public Relations
Van Hall, Public Relations
Clarence Hicks, Printing

Mrs. Lillie Hunter, Secretary to Vice President-Treasurer
Miss Jean Jackson, Secretary to Director of Affiliates
Rev. B. J. Johnson, Jr., Production
Harcourt Klinefelter, Public Relations

Mrs. Claudette Mathews, Receptionist
Miss Dora E. McDonald, Secretary to the President
Miss Annell Ponder, Citizenship Education
Miss Terry Randolph, Voter Registration

Miss Frances Sims, Secretary to the Program Director
Dana Swan, Voter Registration
Rozelle White, Printing
William Whitsett, Printing

Miss Marian Willingham, Finance Office
Mrs. Sandra Willkey, Finance Office

With reference to the aforementioned individuals, the following is noted.

All Miss + Gr

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JUNIUS GRIFFIN

[redacted] made available a flyer distributed by the Militant Labor Forum, announcing a party scheduled for May 30, 1964 at 116 University Place, New York City, which was for the purpose of welcoming home the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) presidential candidate. Scheduled to participate in a symposium at this affair was one JUNIUS GRIFFIN, author of "New York Times Series on Harlem Hate Gangs." This symposium was described as relating to "What's Behind Harlem Hate Gang Scare?"

[redacted] b1

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

ERIC KINDBERG

Referred to in the Appendix attached hereto.

REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Referred to in the Appendix attached hereto.

JOHN LEWIS

Referred to in the Appendix attached hereto.

DR. LAWRENCE D. REDDICK

Referred to in the Appendix attached hereto.

DR. C. O. SIMPKINS

[redacted] made available a program pamphlet for a meeting of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF) which was to be held February 3, 1964 at b1

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the Roosevelt Hotel, New York City. Dr. and Mrs. C. O. SIMPKINS were listed as sponsors on this program pamphlet.

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A characterization of SCEF is set forth in the Appendix attached hereto.

REVEREND C. K. STEELE

[redacted] b1

[redacted] c

HOSEA L. WILLIAMS

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N.Y.

[redacted] c All Miss + SA

HUNTER PITTS O'DELL is referred to in the Appendix attached hereto.

VIRGIL WOOD

In the March 29, 1963 issue of the Lynchburg Daily Advance, a daily newspaper published at Lynchburg, Virginia, an article appeared reporting that one CARL BRADEN attended a meeting of the Hunton Branch of the YMCA

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in the company of VIRGIL A. WOOD. The article reported that WOOD was listed as a member of the Board of Directors of the "Communist - Front SCEF."

CARL BRADEN is referred to in the Appendix attached hereto.

[redacted] b1

GEORGE MEYERS is referred to in the Appendix attached hereto.

[redacted] b1

"The Worker" is an east coast Communist newspaper.

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[redacted]

On November 20, 1963, [redacted] Lynchburg, Virginia, advised that Reverend VIRGIL A. WOOD, formerly pastor of the Diamond Hill Baptist Church in Lynchburg, had in September, 1963, left that area for Boston, Massachusetts. b7D

B. [redacted]

MISS

JOHN BARBER is referred to in the Appendix attached hereto.

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MIGA MISS

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[redacted]

CLARENCE JONES, STANLEY LEVISON and HARRY WACHTEL are referred to in the Appendix attached hereto.

[redacted]

All MISS

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RANDOLPH T. BLACKWELL is referred to in the Appendix attached hereto.

[redacted]

HARRY G. BOYTE is referred to in the Appendix attached hereto.

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CAROL HOOVER is referred to in the Appendix attached hereto.

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Special Agents of the FBI, on June 13, 1966, observed CLARENCE JONES, STANLEY LEVISON and HARRY WACHTEL enter SCLC Headquarters at 10:22 a.m.

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At its 10th Annual Convention, SCLC distributed a leaflet entitled "This is SCLC." Under the caption "Of Fund Raising and Finances" this leaflet pointed out a large portion of SCLC's activities are supported by "individual and organizational contributions, direct mail fund appeals and affiliate fees." Additional income, this leaflet stated, is realized from personal appearances by Reverend KING and other SCLC staff members, concerts by Mrs. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and benefit performances by various entertainment artists.

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HARRY BELAFONTE is referred to in the Appendix attached hereto.

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LEONORA WACHTEL is referred to in the Appendix attached hereto.

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AT 100-5718 (Spine [illegible]) MISS GA

CORDY T. VIVIAN, former SCLC official and currently Director of Fellowships and Internships for Urban Training, Center for Christian Missions, Chicago, is referred to in the Appendix attached hereto.

[redacted] C

[redacted] C

[redacted] C

[redacted] C

The 10th Annual SCLC Convention was held August 8-11, 1966 in Jackson, Mississippi.

[redacted] C

The program issued by SCLC pertaining to its 10th Annual Convention reflected convention headquarters was located at the Masonic Temple, Jackson.

[redacted] C

The following individuals were in attendance at the 10th Annual SCLC Convention in addition to Reverend KING:

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JUNIUS GRIFFIN
CAROL HOOVER
JOHN LEWIS
BAYARD RUSTIN
C. O. SIMPKINS
C. K. STEELE
CORDY T. VIVIAN
HOSEA L. WILLIAMS
VIRGIL WOOD

[redacted] c

BAYARD RUSTIN is referred to in the Appendix attached hereto.

The 10th Annual SCLC Convention opened on August 8, 1966 with a banquet followed by a speech by United States Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY. CORDY T. VIVIAN served as toastmaster at this affair.

[redacted] c

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On August 9, 1966, BAYARD RUSTIN presided over a panel at the convention. This panel was concerned with "the non-violent perspective." CORDY T. VIVIAN served as a member of this panel.

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C. K. STEELE presided over a session of the convention on August 11, 1966 at which reports of various convention committees were presented.

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On October 10, 1966, the Atlanta Constitution, a daily Atlanta newspaper, on page 9 of its morning edition, published an article captioned "King Weighs Opposing All Black Power Groups" bylined GENE ROBERTS. This article referred to an interview of Reverend KING on October 9, 1966 regarding divergence of policy among various civil rights organizations and the need for unification thereof. The article credited Reverend KING with saying he felt there was now a need for SCLC to decide "-- whether the philosophies of his Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the black power organizations are so diametrically opposed we can't get together." In this connection the article continued "He added that he and his top aides would try to reach a decision on this question on Thursday, Friday and Saturday of this week, when he has scheduled a closed door meeting to discuss ways of combating a new wave of white backlash."

In a news broadcast commencing at 11:00 p.m., October 12, 1966, station WSB TV, Atlanta presented a brief interview of BAYARD RUSTIN conducted October 12, 1966 at the Atlanta Airport. Introductory comments to this interview stated RUSTIN was in Atlanta to attend an SCLC conference pertaining to "black power."

On October 13, 1966, the Atlanta Journal, a daily Atlanta newspaper, on page 25 of its final edition, published an article entitled "King, Aides Confer, Discuss Black Power." There was no by-line accompanying this article.

The article reflected Reverend KING had called a meeting in Atlanta of "top SCLC leaders" to discuss the topic of "Black Power" and future programs of SCLC. This meeting commenced on the evening of October 12, 1966 and was expected to terminate late in the afternoon of October 13, 1966 or early October 14, 1966, according to JUNIUS GRIFFIN, and "involved eight members of the SCLC's research committee."

The article reflected GRIFFIN named the following individuals as being in attendance at this meeting:

RALPH D. ABERNATHY
JAMES BEVEL
Mrs. DOROTHY COTTON GA, MISS
"New York City Attorneys" CLARENCE JONES, STANLEY LEVISON, and HARRY WACHTEL
RALPH HELSTEIN, "International President of the Packinghouse Workers"
BAYARD RUSTIN.

GA MISS

RALPH HELSTEIN is referred to in the Appendix attached hereto.

IV. PROJECTS AND ACTIVITIES

A. Summer Community Organization and Political Education (SCOPE) Program

[redacted] b1

[redacted]

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[redacted]

[redacted]

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B. Operation Breadbasket

No pertinent developments.

C. Citizenship Education Program

No pertinent developments.

X

D. Dialogue

[redacted]

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E. Project Vision

No pertinent developments.

Pages 30-42
removed + sent
to National Archives

The Courier-Journal, Louisville, Kentucky, a newspaper of general circulation, on February 3, 1959, reported that CARL BRADEN had been sentenced to one year in prison on a charge of contempt of Congress on February 2, 1959, in Atlanta, Georgia. The story noted that he had been convicted under this charge on January 21, 1959, and that the charge arose from his refusal to answer questions before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The Louisville Times, Louisville, Kentucky, a newspaper of general circulation, on February 27, 1961, reported that the United States Supreme Court had, on that date, affirmed the contempt of Congress conviction of BRADEN.

The Courier-Journal on May 2, 1961, reported that CARL BRADEN had surrendered to the United States Marshal at Atlanta, Georgia, on May 1, 1961, to begin serving a one-year prison sentence for contempt of Congress.

The Courier-Journal, on February 2, 1962, reported that CARL BRADEN had been released from the Federal Prison Camp at Allenwood, Pennsylvania, on February 1, 1962. BRADEN indicated that he would return to his home, Louisville, Kentucky.

As of August 30, 1963, CARL BRADEN and his wife, ANNE BRADEN, continued to reside at 4403 Virginia Avenue and are still employed as Field Secretaries for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF).

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ISOBEL FORBES CERNEY

[redacted]c

[redacted]c

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VIRGINIA YOUNG COLLINS

Source made available during June of 1965 a copy of the minutes of the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF) held at Atlanta, Georgia, on April 16, 1965, which reported that the spring meeting of the Board of Directors of SCEF met on April 16, 1965, at the Inter-Denominational Theological Seminary, 633 Beckwith Street, Atlanta, Georgia. Among the members of the Board, Advisory Committee, and staff, also present was Mrs. VIRGINIA Y. COLLINS.

[redacted]

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The minutes also revealed that Mrs. VIRGINIA Y. COLLINS was designated as Special Assistant to Dr. JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI, Executive Director of SCEF by action of the Board.

On March 11, 1965, [redacted] advised that a leaflet had been distributed by the Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Citizens which lists VIRGINIA YOUNG COLLINS as chairman. [redacted] stated [redacted] had advised that this leaflet was mimeographed in the office of SCEF and that 5,000 copies had been prepared of which 3,000 were to be distributed locally, and the remaining 2,000 were to be mailed to various individuals. This leaflet

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set forth information that an hour prayer meeting would be held at the Union Bethel A.M.E. Church, 2321 Thalia Street, at 2:00 p.m., Sunday, March 14, 1965, to adopt a petition to Federal officials and, in addition, to dramatize their concern and demands, a march from the church to the Federal Building on Loyola Avenue, New Orleans, Louisiana, was planned.

At approximately 2:10 p.m., on March 14, 1965, a total of 65 demonstrators were observed in front of the Federal Building at 701 Loyola Avenue, New Orleans, Louisiana. This observation was made by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation at New Orleans, Louisiana.

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

As of January 21, 1964, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS was National Secretary of the CP, USA.

[redacted] c

"The New York Times," August 24, 1964, page 27, column 4, reports that BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, National Secretary, CP, USA, died in New York City on the night of August 22, 1964.

BERTA GREEN

As of February 28, 1964, BERTA GREEN was a member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in New York City.

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GUS HALL

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RALPH HELSTEIN

As of June 16, 1964, RALPH HELSTEIN resided at 5806 South Blackstone Avenue, Chicago, and is the International President of the United Packinghouse Food and Allied Workers, AFL-CIO, with offices at 608 South Dearborn Street, Chicago.

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As of June 20, 1956, RALPH HELSTEIN, 603 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, was a member of the National Lawyers Guild.

[redacted] C

CAROL HOOVER

A news item in "The Atlanta Daily World" (an Atlanta, Georgia, daily Negro newspaper), dated May 21, 1965, titled "Albany 'Justice' Assailed" datelined Hapeville, Georgia, sets forth information regarding a semi-annual board meeting of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) held in Hapeville during the previous weekend. The article reports that Miss CAROL HOOVER, Atlanta, Georgia, an administrative assistant at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was one of four new members added to the board of SCEF at this meeting.

[redacted] S b1

[redacted] S

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[redacted] S [redacted] C b1

JOHN E. JACOBS, also known as
Jon Jacobs

[redacted] C [redacted] C b1

ARNOLD JOHNSON

[redacted] S] [redacted] C

CLARENCE JONES

CLARENCE JONES is the General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York City.

[redacted] C [redacted] C b1

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JOHN LEWIS

"The Worker," an East Coast Communist newspaper, in its issue of May 2, 1965, page three, contained an article "2000 Hail Paul Robeson at Freedomways Tribute." The article states that "an overflow audience of 2000 friends and admirers" of Paul Robeson greeted him at the Hotel Americana the previous week (April 22, 1965) on the occasion of the salute by "Freedomways" to Robeson on his 66th birthday.

The article reflects that JOHN LEWIS, Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) spoke at this affair. The article states that LEWIS spoke of Robeson's past accomplishments.

JIM MALLORY

As of March 6, 1959, JIM MALLORY was organizer of the Harlem, New York Branch of the Communist Party.

[redacted]

WILLIE MAE MALLORY

On February 11, 1959, while addressing a meeting of the Harlem Region of the Communist Party in New York City, JIM MALLORY identified WILLIE MAE MALLORY as a member of the Communist Party.

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GEORGE MEYERS

[redacted]

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HUNTER PITTS O'DELL

[redacted] (S)

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[redacted] (S)

[redacted] C

LAWRENCE DUNBAR REDDICK

LAWRENCE DUNBAR REDDICK is Professor of Social Sciences at Coppin State College, Baltimore, Maryland. He currently resides at 3704 Winterbourne Road, Baltimore, Maryland.

As of September 17, 1943, Dr. REDDICK, who was then Director of the Schomburg Library, 103 W. 135th Street, New York City, was one of the most important unpublicized members of the Communist Party (CP). REDDICK seemed to be a source of information in regard to Socialism and Communism in the United States and the Soviet Union.

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The "Daily Worker" was an east coast Communist newspaper, which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

The George Washington Carver School has been designated by the U. S. Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On February 5 and 11, 1954, LAWRENCE DUNBAR REDDICK was interviewed by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Atlanta, Georgia. He, at that time, stated that he was not, and had never been, a member of, or a sympathizer with the Communist Party.

[redacted] b1

[redacted] c

BAYARD RUSTIN

In "The Saturday Evening Post," issue of July 11-18, 1964, page 76, BAYARD RUSTIN is the subject of a feature article captioned: "The Lone Wolf of Civil Rights." In it, RUSTIN is said to have come to New York in 1938, as an organizer for the Young Communist League (YCL), and as such, he had the job of recruiting students for the "Party."

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Furthermore, the article reports that during his first years in New York RUSTIN gave most of his earnings to the "Party." He reportedly left the "Party" in 1941, the article states.

The "Daily Worker," February 11, 1957, page 1, column 2, reported that BAYARD RUSTIN, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was an observer at the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) held in New York City on February 9-12, 1957.

[redacted] b1

On February 19, 20, 1964, BAYARD RUSTIN contacted BENJAMIN J. DAVIS and sought his advice as to how he could escape from a speaking engagement to which he was committed. On the latter contact, DAVIS told RUSTIN that he was working on his request and had contacted friends who had contacts with the group to which RUSTIN was to speak. [redacted] b1

C. T. VIVIAN

[redacted] b1

1-6

HARRY WACHTEL is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York, New York. He resides at 29 Split Rock Drive, King Point, Long Island, New York.

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B. Organizations and Publications

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself. [redacted]

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of the organization, as set forth in the preamble to its constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anticommunism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people." (U)

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC have varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area. [redacted]

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

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FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INC.

The records of the New York State Secretary of State, Albany, New York, show that the Certificate of Incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Inc., was filed on March 2, 1961.

[redacted] b1

[redacted]

The Second Quarter, 1966, issue of "Freedomways," self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement" published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City, lists the following as its editorial staff:

John Henrik Clarke, Associate Editor
Esther Jackson, Managing Editor
J. H. O'Dell, Associate Managing Editor
John L. Devine, Art Editor

A third source made available information on July 1, 1964, indicating that John Henrik Clarke attended the first and founding meeting of the American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS) which was held on December 19, 1963, and continued on January 10, 1964.

This source also made available information on August 14, 1964, indicating that Clarke is an "Associate" of AIMS.

[redacted] b1

[redacted] b1

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On January 30, 1961, [redacted] advised [redacted] Jack Devine, mentioned on December 17, 1960, that he was still in the CP and that the CP is his whole life.

On July 24, 1963, a fifth source described John Devine as a CP member.

AT 100-5718

GANDHI SOCIETY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

The Gandhi Society for Human Rights was formed for the purpose of developing a philosophy and technique of non-violent civil rights protests. It is a non-action organization and makes no attempt to influence legislation nor participate in demonstrations. The Society furnishes legal assistance in certain civil rights cases. The organization was incorporated June 14, 1962.

THE NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of January 2, 1957, to supersede Guide published on May 14, 1951, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following information concerning "The National Lawyers Guild:"

1. Cited as a Communist front.

   (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149).

2. Cited as a Communist front which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations and controlled unions," and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents." (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally released September 17, 1950.)

3. "To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the *** National Lawyers' Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection."

   (Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91).

AT 100-5718

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

"The Southern Patriot," a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 12, 1947.

The SCHW was cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, on June 12, 1947.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW dated April 26, 1946, changed the name of that organization to the SCEF, and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals.

The SCEF is self-described as having deep roots in the South where it began as the educational wing of the SCHW, organized in 1938 to work for economic and political reform. When the SCHW disbanded in the late 1940's, SCEF continued as an independent organization, rallying support for integration and democracy and helping to stimulate and nurture new movements of the early 1960's. The SCEF maintained headquarters in Louisiana for twenty years, but in 1966 moved its headquarters to Louisville, Kentucky.

A source advised on March 2, 1961, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a Communist Party Functionary, stated at a meeting of the Communist Party in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the Communist Party is not connected with any progressive movement but indirectly they do have some influence in the SCEF.

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on June 8, 1966, that during the time that the SCHW was in existence members of the Communist Party were members of and worked actively in the SCHW; however, since the formation of the SCEF, Communist Party members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a Communist Party front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial issue.

CARL BRADEN and ANNE BRADEN, Director and Associate Director respectively of the SCEF, were identified by ALBERTA AHEARN, 2311 Payne, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party, on December 13, 1954, in her testimony in Jefferson County, Kentucky, Court in the prosecution of CARL BRADEN under a state sedition statute, as members of the Communist Party in Louisville, Kentucky, from January, 1951, to December, 1954.

[redacted] b7D

The second source also advised on June 8, 1966, that many people who are officials and supporters of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means Communists.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
October 21, 1966

SECRET

FD 323

Title COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Letterhead Memorandum, dated and captioned as above, at Atlanta, Georgia.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

T-5 has furnished both reliable and unreliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

SECRET

FD-3 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 10/18/66

Transmit the following in A I R T E L (Type in plaintext or code)

Via (Priority)

54688, 73518, 80514

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7-21-80 BY SP-4 JRM

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438794)

FROM: SAC, MIAMI (157-489) (P)

COMINFIL OF SCLC
IS - C
(OO: Atlanta)

Re Miami airtel and letterhead memo dated 10/10/66.

Enclosed for the Bureau are seven copies, and for Atlanta, two copies of a letterhead memorandum on the SCLC-sponsored march 10/16/66, in Miami.

Copies of the memorandum are being designated for NISO, Charleston, S. C.; OSI, Robins, AFB, Ga.; G-2, Ft. McPherson, Ga., and the 111th INTC Group, Miami, Fla. The latter unit was also telephonically contacted 10/14/66, and ASAC GENE FORSTER advised of the information received that date from [redacted] b7D

SA [redacted] observed the march at the Friendship Torch as reported in the memorandum. b7C

The Miami Humanist Organization and JAMES CHATMON or CHATMAN are not capable of subversive characterization at this time.

ENCLOSURE

3 - Bureau (Enc. 7) (RM)
2 - Atlanta (Enc. 2) (RM)
3 - Miami (1 - 157-489)
(1 - 157-1087 Racial Matters)
(1 - 100-15058 CIRM)

ST-105 REC-69

100-438794-1612

RLO:Jm
(8)

OCT 21 1966

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, [redacted]
[redacted]: MD, CRD, RAO
DATE FORM: 10/25/66
HOW FORW: RS
BY: DMW/ei

5 NOV 1966

Approved: FP Sent M Per

Special Agent in Charge 1C CAT + LHM 9249 RD

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-489

Miami, Florida
October 18, 1966

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE (SCLC)
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

b7D

On October 10, 1966, [redacted], advised that the Miami Humanist Organization and the Miami Chapter of the SCLC would stage a protest march against housing facilities on October 16, 1966, at the Friendship Torch in Downtown Miami. One of the leaders of the march would be Mike Baum of the SCLC.

b7D

On October 14, 1966, [redacted] advised that his office had received information that there would be an attempt to start a riot, principally with the Cuban faction, when the march reached the Friendship Torch.

During the afternoon of October 16, 1966, between 4 and 5 p.m., a Special Agent of the FBI observed marchers at the Friendship Torch. An actual count of those adults who joined hands in singing at the Torch was 43 Negroes and 7 white persons with an undetermined number of small children.

Placards were carried by the participants protesting housing and recreation facilities, such as "We need S.P.C.A. for Humans," "Animals in Zoo live better than we do," "Our Children need playgrounds," and "We pay $126 a month for roach and rat infested apartments."

Mike Baum was observed among the marchers.

b7D

On May 13, 1954, [redacted] advised that Meyer Baum, also known as Mike Baum, was a member of the Communist Party in Phoenix, Arizona, during the period 1947-1949.

An article on page 1B of the October 17, 1966, issue of "The Miami Herald," Miami newspaper, reflects that a group of 100 Negroes joined by a handful of white persons paraded

ALL INFORMATION
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-21-80 BY SP4 JRW

100-438794-1612

ENCLOSURE

1.54688, 73578, 80514

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC)

without incident in Downtown Miami on October 16, 1966. According to the article, there were 70 policemen present and they nearly outnumbered the marchers at times.

b7D

On October 17, 1966, [redacted] advised that a leaflet passed out during the march reflected the march was sponsored by the SCLC of Greater Miami, 534 Northwest 2nd Avenue, Miami, Mr. James Chatmon, President (696-6857). [redacted] advised no incidents were reported to the Sheriff's Office.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

CONFIDENTIAL 1 - Sullivan
1 - Baumgardner
1 - Wells

CONFIDENTIAL

October 24, 1966

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The following information has been supplied by confidential sources of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information in the past.

On October 17, 1966, Clarence Jones, an adviser of Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was in contact with Paul O'Dwyer, New York City attorney and brother of former New York City Mayor William O'Dwyer. Jones informed O'Dwyer that King wanted to meet with James Hoffa, President, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers Union. Jones did not want any publicity concerning this matter and therefore was attempting to arrange the meeting through O'Dwyer. Jones told O'Dwyer that King is very sensitive about this meeting becoming public knowledge until he has a chance to talk to Hoffa. Jones advised that he would accompany King and they would be willing to meet Hoffa at Hoffa's convenience. O'Dwyer promised to help arrange the meeting.

On October 19, 1966, this same source advised O'Dwyer told Jones that Hoffa wanted to know the purpose of the meeting. Jones commented that King has felt for some time that most of the support for the civil rights movement comes from the same unions. King is of the opinion that Hoffa's union might be willing to support the civil rights movement to a greater degree because of the 450,000 Negroes in that union. King wants to discuss this matter with Hoffa, in an effort to get Hoffa more involved in the civil rights movement.

This meeting should be as soon as possible because King is disgusted with the leadership of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 JRM/ll
ON 7-21-80

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1

SEE NOTE PAGE 2.

DMW:deh
(12)

59688
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Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

100-106670
1 - Bufile 100-438794 (SCLC)

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080
ON 11-9-77
LCD/bm

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-106670-2911

SP4 JRM/ll
FOR EXTENSION
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 10-24-86

59688
80514
73518

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Organizations, according to Jones's comments to O'Dwyer. King feels that the latter organization has not moved into the civil rights area and this is partially the reason for the white backlash.

[redacted] b1

The Labor Youth League has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

XEROX COPIES TO THE WHITE HOUSE, THE ACTING ATTORNEY GENERAL, DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL AND ASSISTANT ATTORNEYS GENERAL YEAGLEY AND DOAR.

NOTE:

Declassified

Classified "Confidential" inasmuch as the source for the above information is highly sensitive source in the racial field.

See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, dated 10/21/66, captioned as above, prepared by DMW:deh.

Mr. Sullivan 10/21/66

80514
S 4688, 73518
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7-21-80 BY SP JRM

F. J. Baumgardner

1 - DeLoach
1 - Sullivan
1 - Baumgardner
1 - D. Wells

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

Attached for your approval for dissemination are copies of a letterhead memorandum containing the following information:

b2 b7D

[redacted] advised that on 10/17/66 Clarence Jones, a former member of the Labor Youth League, a communist-front organization, and now a principal adviser to Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was in contact with Paul O'Dwyer, New York City attorney and brother of former New York City Mayor William O'Dwyer. Jones wanted O'Dwyer to arrange a meeting between King and James Hoffa, President, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers Union. Jones advised that King is very sensitive regarding this meeting and does not want any publicity concerning it. If a meeting could be arranged, King, accompanied by Jones, would be willing to meet Hoffa at Hoffa's convenience. O'Dwyer promised to help arrange this meeting.

b2 b7D

On 10/19/66, [redacted] advised O'Dwyer told Jones that Hoffa wanted to know the purpose of the meeting. Jones replied that King thought that Hoffa's union might want to support the civil rights movement to a greater degree because of its 450,000 Negro members.

According to Jones, this meeting should be as soon as possible because King is disgusted with the leadership of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. This latter organization, according to King, has not moved into the civil rights field and is partially responsible for the white backlash.

RECOMMENDATION:

That copies of the enclosure be forwarded by routing slips to the Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President; The Acting Attorney General, Deputy Attorney General and Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley and Doar.

100-438794-✓

NOT RECORDED
47 OCT 27 1966

Enclosure 10)
100-106670
61 NOV 7 1966 Buffle 100-438794 (SCLC)
DMW:deh (6)

100-106670-274

ORIGINAL FILED IN

7-21-80

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP4JRM
REASON FOR EXTENSION FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2.
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 10/24/86

TELETYPE UNIT
OCT 24 1966
ENCODED MESSAGE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Delmach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Wick
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

[redacted]

FBI NEW YORK ///04/// 54688,73518,80514

5:29 PM EDT URGENT 10/24/66 M.F.R.

TO DIRECTOR (100-438794) AND CHICAGO

CHICAGO VIA WASHINGTON --- ENCODED

FROM NEW YORK (100-149194) -1P-

CLASSIFIED BY SP4JRM/ur
9-3-80

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF Classification
DATE 11/18/77 JED/RJ

COMINFIL SCLC; IS - C. OO:ATLANTA

62
67D

[redacted] A SOURCE CLOSE TO STANLEY LEVISON, ADVISED ON OCTOBER TWENTYTHIRD, SIXTYSIX, LEVISON AND JESSIE JACKSON (SCLC STAFF MEMBER ASSIGNED TO OPERATION "BREAD BASKET" IN CHICAGO) IN CONTACT REGARDING CHICAGO PROJECT. LEVISON PROMISED HE WOULD CONSIDER JOINING JACKSON IN CHICAGO ON TUESDAY TO HELP SOLVE PROBLEMS OF OPERATION "BREAD BASKET". REC 54 [redacted] 100-438794-1613

EX-112

SOURCE ADVISED OCTOBER TWENTYFOUR, SIXTYSIX, LEVISON IN CONTACT WITH UNITED ARILINES REGARDING LATE FLIGHT TO CHICAGO, OCTOBER TWENTYFOUR, SIXTYSIX. UNITED AIRLINES RECORDS REFLECT RESERVATION FOR LEVISON ABOARD UNITED AIRLINES FLIGHT ONE FIVE NINE, DEPARTING KENNEDY INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, ELEVEN FIFTYFIVE PM, AND ARRIVING CHICAGO AT ONE ZERO SIX AM. [redacted]

END

WA..REY R RELAY

56 NOV 1 1966

Classified by 6080
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
LED/bja 11-9-77

RELAYED TO CG

FBI WASH DC

[redacted]

FD-205 (Rev. 1-10)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-438794 - ✓) DATE: 10/14/66

FROM : SAC, ATLANTA (100-5718)

SUBJECT: COMINFIL OF SCLC
IS-C

SOG ACTION:
(Records Branch)

☐ Post and destroy
☒ File

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-21-80 BY SP4JRM/L
54688 173518, 80514

This case will be delinquent. 10/17/66

Date of Bureau deadline: 10/17/66

Reason for the delinquency: OTHER EXPEDITE FACETS OF CAPTIONED MATTER; REPORT IS IN PREPARATION

Date the report or necessary communication will reach the Bureau: By 10/25/66

AEC zone designation; e.g., OR, CH, etc.:
(This applies only to 116 cases.)

☐ No administrative action necessary.

OCT 14 15 2? PM '66
COMMITTEE DIV
REC'D

FBI

Date: 10/21/66

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7-21-80 BY SP4 JRM/JL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-1261)

SUBJECT: DEMONSTRATIONS, CHICAGO FREEDOM MOVEMENT (CFM) - SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC), CHICAGO, ILLINOIS RACIAL MATTERS

54688
73518
80514

Re Chicago teletype dated 10/21/66.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 12 copies of a letterhead memorandum pertaining to captioned matter.

Chicago is continuing to follow this matter and any pertinent information received will be immediately furnished to the Bureau.

ENCLOSURE

2 - Bureau (RM) (Enc.12)
(1 - 100-438794) (SCLC)
1 - Atlanta (100-5718) (Info) (RM) (Enc.1)
3 - Chicago
(1 - 157-413)
(1 - 105-16238)

100-438794
RECORDED
OCT 27 1966

JCS:mab
(8)

Agency G-2, ONI, OSI, CRD

Date Forw. OCT 25 1966

How Forw. T-S

By [illegible]

RACIAL UNIT

61 OCT 31 1966

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

157-1261

Chicago, Illinois
October 21, 1966

DEMONSTRATIONS, CHICAGO FREEDOM MOVEMENT (CFM) - SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC), CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
RACIAL MATTERS

Reference is made to Chicago memorandum dated October 20, 1966, under this caption.

[redacted] advised the Chicago Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on October 20, 1966, that during the period 10:00 PM to 10:50 PM on this evening, nine persons picketed the residence of Theodore Kremelow, 6940 North Kedvale Avenue, in Lincolnwood, Illinois. [redacted] advised that this group of individuals represented the East Garfield Park Union to End Slums, a part of the CFM, and were protesting the operation of alleged slum property on Chicago's west side, by Kremelow. This group of picketing individuals consisted of both Negroes and caucasians, male and female. b7D

[redacted] advised that there were no incidents or arrests during the course of the demonstration, and the area was calm. b7D

On October 20, 1966, details of the above were furnished to [redacted] Region I, 113th INTC Group, Evanston, Illinois. b7C

Copies of this memorandum have been furnished to the Office of the United States Attorney and to United States Secret Service, both Chicago, Illinois.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7-21-80 BY SP-4 JRmler 100-438794-
73 518
54688 80514
~~ENCLOSURE~~

FD-[illegible] (9-17-65)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
NEW YORK	ATLANTA	10/24/66	8/31/66 - 10/17/66

TITLE OF CASE
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

REPORT MADE BY [redacted] b7c

TYPED BY bdb

CHARACTER OF CASE
CONFIDENTIAL
IS - C

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP4JR.mlk 7-21-80
REASON FOR EXTENSION FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2 2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 10/24/86

54684
73518
80514

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF [illegible]
DATE 6/1/76 [illegible]

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] dated 4/22/66, at New York. b7c

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP3
REASON FOR EXTENSION FCIM II [illegible] 2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 10-24-86
5-29-79

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE

The Agents who observed the individuals at the New York Hilton Hotel, NYC, on 7/26/66, were [redacted] b7c

Copies of this report have been disseminated to interested local intelligence agencies.

A copy of this report has been designated to Chicago Office due to the current SCLC activity in that area.

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED [illegible] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:
6-Bureau (100-438794)(RM)
2-108th INTC, NYC (RM)
1-OSI, 2nd Air Force District, NYC (RM)
1-Naval Investigative Service Office, NYC (RM)
2-Atlanta (100-5718)(RM)
1-Chicago (Info)(RM)
2-New York (100-149194)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-438794-1614

NOV 2

OCT 26 1966

EX-110

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency				
Request Recd.			11/2/66 RS	
Date Fwd.				
How Fwd.			Dunn/Cs	
By				DATE

Notations: ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE. [illegible] 11/1/80

67 NOV 8 1966

CONFIDENTIAL

ADMINISTRATIVE (CONTINUED)

b7C

SA [redacted] interviewed ADELE KANTER on 9/20/66, in effort to locate an individual who was allegedly employed by SCLC.

[redacted]

File Number Where Located

b1

C

CONFIDENTIAL

COVER PAGE

XX
XX
XX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b1 with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____ _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

_____

_____

☐ For your information: _____

_____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
100-438794-1614 page C

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
DELETED PAGE(S)
NO DUPLICATION FEE
FOR THIS PAGE
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

FBI

NY 100-149194

LEAD

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK: Will follow and report the Cominfil of SCLC through informants and sources.

COVER PAGE

- D* -

X

D-284 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 2-108th INTC, NYC (RM)
1-OSI, 2nd Air Force District, NYC (RM)
1-Naval Investigative Service Office, NYC (RM)

Report of: [redacted] b7C
Office: New York, New York
Date: 10/24/66

Field Office File #: 100-149194
Bureau File #: 100-438794

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

New York City Office of Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) is at 200 West 57th Street, NY, NY. ADELE KANTER is Office Manager. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., President of SCLC, consults with STANLEY LEVISON, CLARENCE JONES, HARRY WACHTEL and BAYARD RUSTIN [redacted]

b7D

- P* -

DATE 12/11/86

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY 7-27-90 REASON FOR EXTENSION FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2 DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 5-26-86, 23 yrs

DETAILS:

This investigation is predicated upon information received that members of the Communist Party (CP) have infiltrated the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent and result of this infiltration. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is not investigating the legitimate activities of the SCLC.

U

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF [illegible]
DATE 11/17/66 1:00 PM
AMENDED-DISSENT 11/19

SECRET
~~Group I~~
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY 5P3
REASON FOR EXTENSION
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 10-24-86
5-29-79

Classified by 6855 DMJ/JF TK/lnb
Exempt from GDS Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
9-12-77
Upheld 11/9-77 LED/Dir

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

SECRET

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., referred to in this report is MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., listed on SCLC literature as President of SCLC. There is no reported activity in New York of MARTIN LUTHER, SR., a member of the Executive Board of the SCLC. U

For the purpose of brevity in this report, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference will be abbreviated by the initials SCLC, and the Communist Party, United States of America by the initials CP. U

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

[redacted] S b1

. Location and Officials

On September 20, 1966, Miss ADELE KANTER advised an agent of the FBI that she was Office Manager of SCLC office located in Room 1301, 200 West 57th Street, New York, New York. She stated the SCLC Office formerly located at 312 West 125th Street has been abolished. U

[redacted] b7D U

[redacted] 7c b1

The following individuals from New York City act as advisors to MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and meetings attended by KING and these individuals are usually referred to as meetings of the "Research Committee": [redacted]

STANLEY LEVISON
CLARENCE JONES
HARRY WACHTEL
BAYARD RUSTIN

SECRET

[redacted] b1

NY 100-149194

SECRET

STANLEY LEVISON

[redacted] S

[redacted] C

CLARENCE JONES

[redacted] C

b1

The LYL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. U

HARRY WACHTEL

[redacted] C U

[redacted] C

A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild is included in the Appendix of this report.

SECRET

SECRET

[redacted] C

[redacted] b1

[redacted] C

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BAYARD RUSTIN

In the "Saturday Evening Post", issue of July 11-18, 1964, page 76, BAYARD RUSTIN is the subject of a feature article captioned: "The Lone Wolf of Civil Rights". In it, RUSTIN is said to have come to New York in 1938, as an organizer for the Young Communist League (YCL) and, as such, he had the job of recruiting students for the "Party". Furthermore, the article reports that during his first years in New York, RUSTIN gave most of his earnings to the "Party". He reportedly left the "Party" in 1941, the article states. U

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. U

The "Daily Worker", February 11, 1957, page 1, column 2, reported that BAYARD RUSTIN, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was an observer at the 16th National Convention of the CP held in New York City, on February 9-12, 1957. U

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The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist publication until it ceased publication on January 13, 1958. u

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On February 19 and 20, 1964, BAYARD RUSTIN contacted BENJAMIN J. DAVIS and sought his advice as to how he could escape from a speaking engagement to which he was committed. On the latter contact, DAVIS told RUSTIN that he was working on his request and had contacted friends who had contacts with the group to which RUSTIN was to speak. (u)

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"The New York Times", August 24, 1964, page 27, column 4, reports that BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, National Secretary, CP, USA, died in New York City on the night of August 22, 1964. u

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B. Influence of New York Members of SCLC "Research Committee" in the Operation of SCLC and in the Public Policies of SCLC

AL DUCKETT, Public Relations Man, New York City, N.Y. stated that a tour of singer BILLY ECKSTINE had to be cancelled due to ECKSTINE's illness. The money from this tour was to go to SCLC, but because of the cancellation DUCKETT had lost MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and SCLC's business. However, DUCKETT complained that Mrs. KING still owed him $1,800.00 for work he had performed for her. U

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CLARENCE JONES stated on April 14, 1966, that he had spent all of his time while he was at an SCLC Board Meeting in Miami, Florida, arguing over what should go into the SCLC resolution on Viet Nam. JONES remarked "We gave it to them. We gave it to JOHNSON". JONES claimed the resolution appeared on the front page of the "New York Times" and that it showed his "fine handwork" in drafting the resolution. U

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The "New York Times" dated April 14, 1966, page 1, contained an article datelined April 13, 1966, Atlanta, Georgia, captioned "Dr. King's Group Scores Ky Junta". The article stated that SCLC, headed by MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., U

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"called on the Johnson Administration today to abandon the ruling military junta of South Viet Nam and consider withdrawing from the country altogether". It also urged the Administration to seek free elections in Viet Nam. According to the "New York Times" article, the Executive Board of SCLC adopted this resolution at a meeting in Miami, Florida and MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., announced it at a news conference there. It was noted that it was the first time SCLC had taken a formal stand on the Viet Nam war.

"The Worker", dated April 19, 1966, also had a page 1 story favorable to the above SCLC resolution on Viet Nam.

"The Worker" is an east coast Communist newspaper.

On April 18, 1966, STANLEY LEVISON and ADELE KANTER were in contact. KANTER inquired if LEVISON knew anything about the impending SCLC "Newsletter". LEVISON stated that he had discussed it with JUNIUS GRIFFIN, SCLC Public Relations Director, who said the letter was being prepared. KANTER advised LEVISON that she had a conversation with JAMES HARRISON, SCLC Bookkeeper, Atlanta, on April 17, 1966, and he apprised her of the breakdown of the duties of SCLC personnel engaged in financial matters. HARRISON stated he was the individual who handled the receipts and payroll matters. LEVISON stated that that was correct. KANTER further mentioned to LEVISON that $10,000.00 was in a Boston bank and KANTER had inquired if the money had come from a donor or not. HARRISON advised that the sum had come from an anonymous donor. KANTER further told LEVISON that she inquired of HARRISON as to why SCLC in New York had not received a receipt for a $1,000.00 donation from the labor union in New York. HARRISON stated the $1,000.00 was in a separate bank account and was being used to pay back money the SCLC had borrowed. LEVISON told KANTER to determine if the $1,000.00 check from the Transport Workers Union, which had originally been made payable to Dr. KING rather than to SCLC, had been straightened out. LEVISON stated the check was returned by SCLC hoping the union would make a larger

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contribution. Before concluding their contact, LEVISON told KANTER that he recently talked to MARTIN LUTHER KING about Chicago, and KING advised him that he could not work with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) because they could not be trusted.

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On April 23, 1966, STANLEY LEVISON and CLARENCE JONES were in contact. LEVISON mentioned that MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., wanted to talk to him about SCLC's program in Chicago, however, they had not been able to get together. LEVISON was of the opinion that KING wanted to discuss the formulation of the Chicago program. LEVISON mentioned that BAYARD RUSTIN was in Chicago to unify many civil rights groups. LEVISON further stated that according to HARRY WACHTEL, RUSTIN was disturbed because SCLC had recently passed the resolution on Viet Nam. RUSTIN had attended a civil rights meeting in Washington, D.C., recently where the civil rights organizations agreed they would not get involved in the Viet Nam war.

JONES stated to LEVISON that he had watched the newspapers very closely for a statement by a major civil rights leader attacking KING's position on Viet Nam, but to date there had been none. JONES stated the Viet Nam resolution came precisely at the time that people in the United States Senate were saying the same thing. LEVISON acknowledged there were similar statements from other prominent people, such as Senators COOPER of Kentucky and RUSSELL of Georgia, but disagreed that the reticence of civil rights leaders who spoke was due to this. LEVISON believed the civil rights leaders were holding their tongues because they were glad KING had stuck his neck out. LEVISON stated that ROY WILKINS, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and WHITNEY YOUNG, Executive Director, Urban League, now were considered by President JOHNSON as his men. LEVISON stated that KING is now in a different relationship with the White House than he used to be. LEVISON stated that WILKINS and YOUNG were accomplishing what they wanted in Washington and it put King in a less

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advantageous position, which is where YOUNG and WILKINS wanted him to be.

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On April 29, 1966, STANLEY LEVISON and DORA MC DONALD, Secretary to MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., were in contact. MC DONALD stated that KING had scheduled a meeting of certain key SCLC personnel for May 2, 1966, in Atlanta and he wanted LEVISON to attend. LEVISON remarked that he had already discussed the meeting with KING and that he (LEVISON) planned to be there.

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On May 1, 1966, STANLEY LEVISON and CLARENCE JONES were in contact. LEVISON told JONES of his plans to attend a meeting in Atlanta of the "Structural Committee" of the SCLC which was scheduled for May 2, 1966. LEVISON inquired of JONES if he had made any progress in obtaining the contribution for SCLC from a trade union. JONES replied that he had been unable to get the contribution, but he was continuing his efforts.

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On May 7, 1966, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., STANLEY LEVISON and CLARENCE JONES had a conference. They discussed the elections held in Alabama on May 3, 1966. All agreed that JOSEA WILLIAMS, Director of SCLC's Special Projects, should not have been permitted to select the Negro candidates who made the races. They agreed they would have picked a different slate altogether from that selected by WILLIAMS. LEVISON suggested that KING write an article for a national magazine analyzing the Alabama vote because KING's statements on the election results had not received much publicity in the press. LEVISON stated he would try to get an article in "Harpers", "Atlantic", or the "Saturday Evening Post" but if unable to do so, he was confident he could get an article in the magazine section of the "New York Times".

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LEVISON then suggested that he and JONES get together with KING for several hours to exchange ideas on the article. KING stated any meeting would have to take place in Chicago because he was returning there on May 10, 1966. They all agreed to meet in Chicago on May 12, 1966. X(u)

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On May 11, 1966, CLARENCE JONES commented that he was going to Chicago on May 12, 1966, to see MARTIN LUTHER KING. He stated that he had to work on the draft of a statement which he was to give to SANFORD GOTTLIEB, National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE). The statement was to be attributed to MARTIN LUTHER KING and was for use in connection with the Voters March on Washington, D.C., to be held May 15, 1966, in protest of the United States policy in Viet Nam. JONES stated that the March's sponsors had asked KING to attend but JONES commented that KING would be unable to do so. JONES indicated that the next best thing would be to have the lengthy statement from KING and that this was one of the number of reasons he (JONES) was going to Chicago. u

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On May 10, 1966, STANLEY LEVISON and DORA MC DONALD were in contact. LEVISON inquired if Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY had acknowledged the letter sent to him by MARTIN LUTHER KING which had been composed by LEVISON and applauded his (KENNEDY's) statement on Viet Nam. MC DONALD answered that Senator KENNEDY had written a beautiful two page letter to KING. LEVISON requested a copy of this letter so that he could see how Senator KENNEDY treated the matter. [redacted]

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On May 13, 1966, CLARENCE JONES was in contact with ANDREW YOUNG, Executive Director, SCLC, concerning the proposed statement from MARTIN LUTHER KING for the Voters March on Washington on May 15, 1966. JONES stated that he had in mind a letter or a statement from KING which would essentially be a restatement of the SCLC resolution on Viet

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Nam. JONES wanted KING's authorization to compose the letter in such a manner and stated he would say nothing new, but would include that KING regretted he could not attend the March. YOUNG agreed and believed the letter would be acceptable.

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On May 14, 1966, ANDREW YOUNG and CLARENCE JONES were again in contact and YOUNG agreed to JONES' preparing a letter which would essentially be the SCLC resolution on Viet Nam with a few omissions. JONES indicated that he prepared the statement, addressed it to NORMAN THOMAS and Reverend WILLIAM COFFIN, Co-Chairman of the March and signed the letter MARTIN LUTHER KING. The letter contained, in part, the following:

"American policy has become imprisoned in the destiny of the military oligarchy. Not only the Viet Cong, but Buddhists, Catholics and students in Vietnam have expressed contempt for the government we are blindly supporting in Vietnam. The continuation of this war has curtailed domestic Welfare programs in this country causing the poor, whites and Negroes, to bear the heaviest burden both at home and on the war front.

"The principle of dissent has also been affected because of efforts to characterize opposition to the war as disloyal.

"As one committed to non-violence I believe the war must be condemned on the ground that war is not the way to solve social problems.....I believe the moment is now opportune and the need urgent to reassess our position and seriously examine the wisdom of prompt withdrawal. Our government must seriously and sincerely seek free elections and pledge to abide by the results."

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On May 17, 1966, STANLEY LEVISON and MARTIN LUTHER KING were in contact. Their contact was to discuss an article LEVISON was writing for KING. The article was to present KING's analysis of the recent Alabama elections. KING stated he liked the article that had been prepared by LEVISON. However, KING had several comments he wanted to make. He stated that with reference to the coverage of the Confederation of Alabama Political Organizations (COAPO), he wanted it known that there was also another political organization in the state. He stated he did not want it to appear that SCLC was blowing its own horn, even though COAPO had come out of SCLC's activities. KING stated that COAPO was the first grassroots political organization known to the state of Alabama.

KING further stated that JOSEA WILLIAMS had recently made a statement in Alabama to the effect that some of the labor people were trying to put money behind Alabama Gubernatorial Candidate and former Congressman CARL ELLIOTT. They wanted to give the money to Negroes to organize for ELLIOTT. KING stated that some of the Negroes that were to receive some of this money were from COAPO. JOSEA WILLIAMS had stated that as a result of the hard work and sacrifice COAPO had gotten Negroes to register, but now labor was trying to come in and make the decisions. KING stated that when Ohio labor officials heard of WILLIAMS' statement they became upset, and KING received three or four phone calls from labor officials. KING concluded by stating that in the near future, he would have to rely more on wealthy people for aid in solving the economic problems of SCLC.

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On May 28, 1966, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WALTER FAUNTROY, a Washington, D.C., representative, SCLC, CLARENCE JONES and STANLEY LEVISON held a conference to discuss the appearance of MARTIN LUTHER KING on the television show "Face the Nation". KING wanted the thinking of the others on some of the questions which might be put to him, such as the posture of SNCC, black nationalism, the Black Panther Party, the Presidential Conference on civil rights and Viet Nam.

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LEVISON advised that KING should remember the press depicts him as a moderate and he should urge nonviolent but militant attitude. LEVISON stated that KING should urge the Negro not to take abuse and the economic and the political are means, and brotherhood is the end. LEVISON further counselled KING to make it clear that he is not part of a separatist trend and that he hoped to achieve unity in the Negro movement.

KING referred to a speech made by Congressman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL in which POWELL called on American Negroes to abandon the conference table in seeking equality and to seek a position of "black power" and what he termed "audacious power". KING stated he might be asked about POWELL's speech and also about having conferences. CLARENCE JONES commented that the fact that SNCC is not going to take part in the Presidential Conference on civil rights and other such acts by civil rights groups are negative and will hurt the whole group.

LEVISON suggested to KING that he should point out that under President TRUMAN a government committee indicated the Federal Government was the biggest violator of segregation and made recommendations, and that now the Administration has committees which have unearthed important conditions and have spotlighted these conditions. LEVISON stated that in the absence of a militant movement which compels the government to act, nothing usually is done. KING agreed that this was a good way to express it.

FAUNTROY suggested that one question might be where the billions of dollars for KING's program would come from. LEVISON indicated that the one answer would be where did the money come from to finance the war and for the beautification of highways.

Next, KING wanted to know how to handle a question concerning a "long, hot summer". LEVISON suggested that he answer in a guarded way, such as where injustice is located there is a possibility of a riot.

LEVISON brought up the possibility of the question on Viet Nam and JONES stated that the answer should be the

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SCLC resolution on Viet Nam. LEVISON suggested an additional point that Negroes are shouldering a heavier burden of the war because of their economic status. He stated that there were more Negroes at the front than other Americans and this was an unfair position. LEVISON further commented that KING might say he agreed with Secretary of Defense MC NAMARA's statement on the draft stating that if the government provides equal opportunity and equal justice he would agree, however, it is unequal to call Negroes and underprivileged whites in the draft.

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On June 8, 1966, STANLEY LEVISON was in contact with one JOSEPH ROBISON (Phonetic), identified as representing the American Jewish Congress. This contact concerned the Memphis, Tennessee to Jackson, Mississippi, March being conducted by MARTIN LUTHER KING and other civil rights leaders in support of JAMES MEREDITH. LEVISON stated the civil rights leaders wanted all the assistance they could get. He then gave some details of the March and instructed ROBISON to tell anyone who was interested to go to the Centenary Methodist Church, Mississippi Boulevard, Memphis, Tennessee, and transportation would be provided to the March. LEVISON indicated that he would also join this March prior to its completion. Later on June 8, 1966, STANLEY LEVISON was in contact with WILLIAM STEIN, Church Fund Raiser for SCLC. STEIN related that he was trying to get financial aid for the March and was trying to enlist people to join the March. STEIN told LEVISON that WYATT WALKER, former Executive Director, SCLC, told him that he had cancelled two plane loads of people who planned to join the March because the "Deacons for Defense" were involved in the March and, as a result, NAACP and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) had pulled out. WALKER was trying to reach MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., to persuade him to pull out of the March. STEIN stated, however, that KING was not opposed to working with the Deacons for Defense since he saw nothing wrong with it.

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On June 9, 1966, STANLEY LEVISON was in contact with DORA MC DONALD. According to MC DONALD, she had received word from MATTHEW MOORE, an official of the United Steel Workers, that the steel workers union was ready to join the March in support of JAMES MEREDITH to Jackson, Mississippi. MOORE, she said, related that the union was ready with money and men and that all that was needed was word from KING. MC DONALD said that MOORE instructed her to place a call to I.W. ABEL, President of the United Steel Workers, and to follow that with a registered letter with the instructions. She asked LEVISON to prepare this message for her and LEVISON acknowledged that they desperately needed money, also men, for the March.

LEVISON prepared the following message for MC DONALD to send to the United Steel Workers:

"Once again conscience of nation is aroused by another atrocity on a public highway. We are continuing march begun by James Meredith to dramatize need for legislation to protect non-violent protestors seeking constitutional rights as well as for long range solutions. American society must finally adopt to be true to itself.

"We need support of all people of good will in form of personal participation in the march as well as funds to sustain it. We were not prepared for this emergency financially or organizationally. Nevertheless we are trying to meet it while continuing extensive SCLC programs in Chicago, Georgia and Alabama. We deeply appreciate your past support and know we can count the Steel Workers as true friends in this new test facing our democracy. Please send contributions to 334 Auburn, Atlanta."

LEVISON instructed MC DONALD to add to the message information as to where the marchers should report and that transportation from Memphis, Tennessee, to the line of march would be provided.

MC DONALD informed LEVISON that the United Automobile Workers also is desirous of assisting in the March and wanted to know if she should send the same communication

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to them. LEVISON agreed but told MC DONALD that she should first contact ANDREW YOUNG since he could have been in contact with WALTER REUTHER, President of the United Automobile Workers.

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On June 10, 1966, HARRY WACHTEL and STANLEY LEVISON made arrangements to attend an SCLC meeting on June 13, 1966. WACHTEL told LEVISON that he heard MARTIN LUTHER KING was coming back from Mississippi on June 12 and wanted the Atlanta meeting to begin the morning of June 13.

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On June 10, 1966, STANLEY LEVISON and CLARENCE JONES also discussed the SCLC meeting. LEVISON indicated the meeting would concern finances and would be based on a memo he had sent MARTIN LUTHER KING several weeks ago. This memo indicated that only about one half of the income that was anticipated by SCLC would actually come in. The entire years budget would be expended in the first six months. LEVISON stated that SCLC keeps talking about a reserve, but the reserve of $100,000.00 amounts to only one months budget and would not solve any problems. LEVISON stated that he was going to recommend that KING resume holding rallies in cities. JONES mentioned that GEORGE LAWRENCE, SCLC Representative, New York City, had again become active. LEVISON and JONES agreed that the only time LAWRENCE became active was when something newsworthy occurred, such as the Mississippi March.

LEVISON and JONES then discussed the Mississippi March and LEVISON indicated it was planned for sixteen days and would get to Jackson on the 22nd or 23rd of June, where a large rally similar to the one held in Montgomery, Alabama, would take place. LEVISON and JONES indicated they both would join the March the last few days. LEVISON stated that he was fearful the March would dwindle to a handful if it continued for too long. He and JONES agreed that the emphasis

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should be on getting people to join the March. LEVISON informed JONES that SCLC was requesting people to go to the March and noted that United Steel Workers and the United Automobile Workers Unions had offered to help. JONES stated that he believed individuals such as RALPH HELSTEIN should be given some responsibility. LEVISON agreed and stated HELSTEIN could lead a delegation of important trade unionists and could put up the money to charter a plane from Chicago. LEVISON and JONES then agreed that they would meet on June 12, 1966, to discuss recommendations which they would make to MARTIN LUTHER KING concerning SCLC's contribution to the Mississippi March.

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RALPH HELSTEIN

This source advised that he asked RALPH HELSTEIN, President, United Packing House Workers of America, in 1946, if he was a Communist. HELSTEIN replied that he probably could be considered a Communist in view of the nature of his beliefs. HELSTEIN did not elaborate or explain this statement. [redacted] b1

On June 12, 1966, a conference was held between MARTIN LUTHER KING, STANLEY LEVISON, BAYARD RUSTIN and WALTER FAUNTROY. This conference was in regard to the Mississippi March in progress which was protesting the shooting of JAMES MEREDITH. KING stated that he had decided to extend the time for the completion of the March until June 26, 1966. He expected to have approximately 2,000 in Jackson for the climax. KING requested BAYARD RUSTIN and WALTER FAUNTROY to go to Mississippi to aid in the March. RUSTIN expressed reluctance to go for fear that STOKELY CARMICHAEL of SNCC, FLOYD MC KISSICK, National Director of CORE, and "other left wingers would take advantage" of him and that "it might degenerate into a black nationalist thing."

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KING agreed that CARMICHAEL would give them trouble but stated it was good that CARMICHAEL did not have a large following. KING stated that CARMICHAEL had complained that SCLC was getting all of the publicity.

The above conference then shifted to civil rights demands on the Federal Government. KING stated that the civil rights movement would not be able to get the billions of dollars they wanted because of the Viet Nam war.

Before concluding the conference, LEVISON agreed that he would raise funds for the purpose of aiding the Mississippi March and received permission from MARTIN LUTHER KING to run an advertisement in the "New York Times" to raise money.

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On June 15, 1966, MARTIN LUTHER KING and STANLEY LEVISON were in contact concerning the need for funds for the Mississippi March. KING referred to the SCLC conference held in Atlanta, Georgia, on June 14, which LEVISON had attended and indicated that it was decided at this conference that various civil rights organizations engaged in the March would send out their own appeals for funds. KING then urged LEVISON to expeditiously handle the SCLC fund appeal because the marchers were in desperate need of money. KING commented that the March was going favorably and that more voter registrations were being obtained than were expected.

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On June 18, 1966, STANLEY LEVISON and ANDREW YOUNG were in contact. YOUNG requested LEVISON to furnish expenses for a "gang of kids" who were planning to leave Chicago on June 19 or June 20 to join the Mississippi March. LEVISON agreed to send the necessary funds of $930.00 on that date. LEVISON further commented that it had been decided to raise funds through the use of SCLC mailing lists rather than

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placing an advertisement in the "New York Times". LEVISON further agreed to request funds from various church organizations and he agreed to furnish YOUNG with a list of between fifty and one hundred institutes from which SCLC might obtain contributions of $1,000.00. LEVISON advised YOUNG that he would remain in New York City and work on getting money for the Mississippi March until near the conclusion of the March.

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On June 18, 1966, STANLEY LEVISON was in contact with WALTER FAUNTROY. They discussed the Mississippi March and how to provide transportation for the individuals interested in joining the March. FAUNTROY indicated that he desired that some of the trains coming into Jackson, Mississippi, be made "freedom trains".

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On June 19, 1966, CLARENCE JONES and STANLEY LEVISON were in contact. They agreed to go to Jackson, Mississippi, on June 23, 1966. JOHN MARQUSEE, an associate of CLARENCE JONES, had made six reservations in his name for a flight to Jackson.

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On June 20, 1966, STANLEY LEVISON and ADELE KANTER were in contact. LEVISON stated he did not know where the New York people could join the Mississippi March on June 23 but that he would be able to find out. He suggested that those interested in joining the March be encouraged to take the regularly scheduled trains to Jackson, Mississippi. ADELE KANTER mentioned that a New York Committee for a MEREDITH March had been formed and BAYARD RUSTIN was made the coordinator.

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On June 21, 1966, CLARENCE JONES and HARRY WACHTEL were in contact regarding the Mississippi March. WACHTEL indicated a chartered plane was taking a group of approximately one hundred on June 24, 1966, to Jackson. This group would include JACKIE ROBINSON, WYATT WALKER and other "celebrities". Arrangements for the flight had been made by BAYARD RUSTIN.

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On June 22, 1966, a conference took place between MARTIN LUTHER KING, STANLEY LEVISON, CLARENCE JONES and HARRY WACHTEL. KING advised them of the pressing financial problems encountered in the Mississippi March and that they were $9,000.00 in the red and were expecting to be at least $20,000.00 in the red by the end of the March. KING stated that a meeting between SCLC, SNCC and CORE took place on June 22, 1966, and that all three organizations indicated they were without funds. KING stated that he would raise $10,000.00 before June 26 and SNCC and CORE had agreed to raise $5,000.00 and $4,000.00 respectively.

KING stated that the Mississippi March had received a very poor reception as of that time and attributed this to the black nationalist controversy, the statements made in Mississippi concerning violence and the credibility of the March itself. He stated that funds had not been received and this necessitated personal appeals to individuals. KING requested the names of individuals that might furnish funds. HARRY WACHTEL stated he would appeal to RALPH HELSTEIN and WALTER REUTHER. KING advised that he had received $5,000.00 from REUTHER on June 19, 1966. STANLEY LEVISON advised KING to contact THEODORE KHEEL, New York City Attorney, and to get from him names of other people who might contribute. KING stated that JAMES HOFFA, Teamsters Union, had given $25,000.00 to aid the March, and HOFFA should be recontacted to determine if the teamsters would give more. KING stated that all money collected should be sent to the First Methodist Church, Jackson, Mississippi.

In analyzing the poor reception given the March, KING stated people misunderstood it and that, in fact, several times he had considered pulling out. All of those

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participating in the conference agreed that the ideological differences between the participating civil rights organizations would have to come to a head as soon as possible. They stated they did not understand how a confrontation had been avoided for such a long period.

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On July 1, 1966, MARTIN LUTHER KING and STANLEY LEVISON were in contact. KING discussed his desire to write an article in a national magazine restating his philosophy of nonviolence. LEVISON told KING that such magazines are not interested in a restatement but are looking for something different. KING stated that he wanted to clarify many misconceptions that have developed concerning his philosophy and to explain why a mood of violence has come into being in the Negro freedom movement. He mentioned that he would include a discussion on "Defensive Violence". KING stated that he believed there was no military solution to the Negro problem.

LEVISON maintained that a magazine of smaller circulation might accept such an article. He contended that civil rights as an issue does not have the centrality it did previously and that, therefore, magazines are not interested because they feel their readers are not that much interested. LEVISON suggested that a restatement of KING's philosophy of non-violence could be properly done in a book and that it was time for another book by KING. KING said he would work on the book in September, 1966.

KING and LEVISON also discussed the possibility of getting out another fund-appeal mailing. It was LEVISON's opinion that such an appeal should be held off until September, 1966, since appeals had been made in April and May, 1966.

LEVISON noted that the Summer of 1966 promised to be sparse from a standpoint of income unless some special efforts could be generated. He insisted that the financial situation has to be watched very carefully and that they must

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become very selective about projects. LEVISON blamed the current financial squeeze on a combination of the war in Viet Nam and the impression the anti-poverty program has created. He explained that a large number of the liberal elements have moved to another issue while a large number of the elements in the Negro community have moved over to "a kind of social welfare approach".

KING agreed that there is a serious problem but felt there are sources of income that have not been tapped. LEVISON commented on the inroads that have been made on this fund-raising effort by the anti-poverty program. He asserted that ministers have become an arm of this program with the result that not only is money lost but dedicated men are removed from the mass action ranks.

LEVISON posed the question of the proper method to be pursued under the existing conditions. He stated that to proceed on the old basis could be fatal. He noted as examples CORE and SNCC. He said that as they die they will become noisier and more militant in their expression. He said that SCLC should avoid finding less and less interest by repeating old slogans and the call for action of another period. LEVISON felt that it is vitally important to hold a "retreat" to examine this question and KING agreed. They decided, tentatively, to hold this "retreat" in Chicago the week before the convention of the SCLC scheduled for the first week in August.

KING and LEVISON also agreed to explore the possibility of Federal grants as a source of funds as well as grants from foundations.

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On July 12, 1966, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and STANLEY LEVISON discussed a freedom movement rally held July 7, 1966, in Soldier Field, Chicago, Illinois. KING believed 60,000 people had attended, although the police had estimated 30,000. Both KING and LEVISON felt the rally went well.

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KING stated he wanted to discuss an "action program" with LEVISON because SCLC was confronted with financial problems. KING stated he was convinced there was money to be obtained in Chicago, it was just a matter of organizing. He felt most members would support them as well as most social clubs. He believed they could raise $50,000.00 in Chicago and that people in the white community had money which they had not tapped as yet.

KING advised LEVISON that he was considering getting WILLIAM STEIN to spend a month to six weeks in Chicago organizing a fund drive. KING stated if a situation arose where STEIN needed a "front man", KING could provide a Negro for the job. LEVISON stated a Negro preacher would be good to work with STEIN and LEVISON believed STEIN would go to Chicago and do the job.

LEVISON commented that it is necessary to raise the money in Chicago because SCLC cannot make an appeal somewhere else for Chicago. He said the attitude would be that SCLC could raise it in Chicago, that there are churches there. LEVISON continued that he would discuss it with STEIN, that he does not see why it cannot be done. LEVISON noted, however, that it meant rearranging the plans he had. He said he wanted STEIN to work on a dialogue for foundations and that they already had drawn up a prospectus. He added that he would have to take this over himself and handle the foundations.

KING inquired if LEVISON could work on this and get it to Chicago by July 18, 1966. LEVISON said it could not be done that way because in dealing with foundations it is necessary to make appointments with the directors at their convenience. He said he had wanted STEIN to meet with them. LEVISON stated that he believes that foundations are now the places to go and that he cannot think of any other source today that should be more interested in the balanced approach KING has. He said he is anxious to make as many of these approaches as possible.

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On July 15, 1966, STANLEY LEVISON and ANDREW YOUNG were in contact. They discussed a SCLC letter which LEVISON had prepared. YOUNG described the letter as "Creative Fund Raising". He praised LEVISON's approach to contributors as being members of a constituency and part of a family. They agreed that additions should be made to the letter because of the riots in progress in Chicago, Illinois. YOUNG described the Chicago situation as frustrating and explained that the people SCLC were working with in Chicago, Illinois, were so much a part of the problem and hostile toward the police that SCLC had to fight to keep them from encouraging the riots. YOUNG stated that the attitude of some people of the community organizations which would be capable of stopping the riots, was so hostile that they shared in the riots vicariously. The organizations were not horrified of the thought of Negroes rioting and YOUNG likened the situation to the one which prevailed in the Watts area of Los Angeles.

LEVISON suggested that SCLC in Chicago might be assuming too much responsibility by attempting to end the riots. He stated SCLC's position should be that it was Mayor RICHARD DALY's riot not the SCLC's. LEVISON continued that if Mayor DALY wanted to do nothing about the riots, he would be the precipitator. LEVISON believed SCLC's role should be to sharply attack Mayor DALY. LEVISON predicted that the Chicago riots would cause DALY to lose his position with the Negro vote and with the Negro organizations.

YOUNG took issue with LEVISON's appraisal of the effect of the riots on Mayor DALY. He asserted that the hostility is directed against the Chicago police and not DALY, in the same way the anger in the Chicago school situation was directed against Superintendent of Schools WILLIS and not DALY. He said the rioters are really "wild, young kids and the intellectuals are the ones that give them support and plant ideas".

LEVISON suggested that a large section of the Chicago population, including part of the Negro middle class, are not unhappy about the riots and feel "they're giving them what they deserve to get". YOUNG again disagreed and

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insisted that the main bloc of Negroes in Chicago did not feel that way. YOUNG pointed out that DALY is in a very good position "even with us because we have to say that ORLANDO WILSON is a damn good Police Commissioner". Chicago, Ill.

YOUNG noted that the head of the Police Fraternal Society in Chicago has charged that MARTIN LUTHER KING is the cause of the current rioting by teaching people disrespect for law and order through his advocacy of non-violence. LEVISON commented that "they grab a situation to cut you down with it" and insisted that responsibility be placed where it belongs. LEVISON contended that while the focus of emotion might be directed against the police, it is the function of YOUNG's group to point out the police are only a part of the municipal apparatus and that the municipal leadership has done nothing about the grievances of the people. LEVISON emphasized that YOUNG's group had to turn the riots against Mayor DALY because "they're going to turn it against you".

LEVISON stated that he felt the most dangerous situation "you're in" is not that people will believe that MARTIN LUTHER KING is responsible for the riots but that KING could have stopped them and did not. He said "you've got to place the onus in this thing on DALY for failing to do what needed to be done". He added that then "your meetings", as well as everything else, become constructive because they were demands that DALY do what was needed to be done and which he did not do.

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On July 19, 1966, STANLEY LEVISON and HARRY WACHTEL were in contact. LEVISON advised WACHTEL that WILLIAM STEIN was called to Chicago by MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., to administer a fund raising program which SCLC had started.

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On July 19, 1966, STANLEY LEVISON was in contact with an unidentified individual. LEVISON commented that the riots in Chicago were making a "kind of social history". He indicated that the organizers working for MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., had been in Chicago for about a year before the riots, using the theory that they had to make contact with the very lowest group and not just the middle class. According to LEVISON, this contact included "gang kids". The result of these contacts was that from the very first day of the riots the SCLC organizers were in contact with the rioters. LEVISON added that unlike the Watts riot where there was no leadership and where it was just a wild upsurge, in Chicago there was no great amount of looting or burning. LEVISON claimed that it was a well-controlled riot because it had leaders and the SCLC organizers were in touch with these leaders. LEVISON stated that he considered the riots were something on the order of a demonstration with violence. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., finally got the "gangs" to go along with a pledge of non-violence. LEVISON described KING's accomplishment as remarkable. He stated that if the gangs could be re-oriented, it would be also something remarkable.

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On July 21, 1966, STANLEY LEVISON and MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., were in contact. They discussed SCLC's fund raising, particularly SCLC's efforts in Chicago, Illinois. They discussed a SCLC letter which LEVISON had prepared and intended to run as an advertisement in the "New York Times".

LEVISON said the advertisement would be headlined "It Is Not Enough to Condemn Black Power", and will read in part as follows:

"There may be no means of obviating all riots everywhere this summer. SCLC has, however, offered a constructive lesson in its recent actions. We were daring enough to march through Mississippi to give disciplined expression to burning indignation. In the face of cries of black power the SCLC summoned 50,000 Negroes in the sweltering slums of Chicago to assemble non-violently for protest and they responded magnificently".

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LEVISON, in continuing, said he would further state in the article that the burden now shifts to the municipal, state and federal authorities and others in seats of power. If they continue to use the SCLC's non-violence as a cushion for complacency, the wrath of those suffering will arise, LEVISON remarked. He said the consequence could be an unmanageable social disorder and moral disaster.

At KING's suggestion, LEVISON said he would handle the Chicago riots in the advertisement by noting how ironic it was that four days of rioting occurred because of an attempt to shut off a water hydrant. After the riots the city quickly found $10,000.00 for portable swimming pools, but, meanwhile, the state was spending $1,000,000.00 each day for the National Guard. LEVISON cautioned KING not to go off too much on the Chicago riots in this letter since the main purpose of the letter and advertisement will be the subject of black power versus non-violence.

In commenting on the SCLC's funds appeal, LEVISON stated an appeal was sent to 80,000 at the end of June and that the results have been unexpectedly good. In fact, LEVISON said, one person who normally contributes only $50.00 gave $1,000.00.

LEVISON then discussed an article he read in July 20, 1966, issue of "The New York Times" attributed to ALFRED FRIENDLY, JR., captioned "Chicago Officials Voice Concern Over Apparent Gang Alliance With Rights Leaders". LEVISON complained that this story quoted EDWARD MARCINIAK of the Chicago Human Relations Commission as making some stupid observations concerning KING's efforts to bring gang leaders into the movement. According to LEVISON, the story told how the gang members were won over to non-violence and what actually came out of the story was an extraordinary victory for KING. The account attempted to tell the story from the viewpoint of Chicago City morals but wound up telling the story for KING.

In fact, according to LEVISON, the account was so favorable to KING that a public relations man in New York who represents the Field Foundation and the Taconic Foundation, contacted CLARENCE JONES on Wednesday,

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July 20, 1966, and said the SCLC should seek one million dollars in foundation money. However, prior to reading the article in the paper, the man had been very reluctant to commit himself as favoring help from the foundation.

LEVISON expressed doubt that either the Field Foundation or the Taconic Foundation would be the right one to approach for money for the Chicago Project because the Field Foundation is Chicago based and KING's relations with the Taconic Foundation were not very clear. LEVISON said that he and JONES were trying to determine what foundation would be the most suitable one for SCLC.

KING revealed that he would leave Atlanta on July 21, 1966, for Chicago but would probably be in New York City on July 25, 1966, to fill an appointment with some foundation representatives on July 26, 1966. LEVISON said the Field Foundation was bringing in the Ford Foundation and wanted to involve the Stern Family Fund in the meeting in New York City. However, according to HARRY WACHTEL, the Stern Family Fund should not be brought in. LEVISON said he agreed, adding that the Field and Ford Foundations could handle the Citizenship Training School for SCLC since it would only be a drop in the bucket for Ford.

KING said he wanted to fund the Citizenship Education Program over a five year period, therefore, felt that some other foundations hould get involved.

In commenting on strategy to be used during Tuesday's meeting with the foundations, LEVISON suggested that an effective approach to the foundations would be to show them that it took the Youth Board in New York City almost ten years and tens of millions of dollars to accomplish what KING has done in Chicago in less than a year. LEVISON asserted that Chicago is the only major city in the country which still has fighting gangs but that KING has been the only person able to move in and do something with them. LEVISON felt that in view of the danger of outbreaks and the positive constructive social work done it should be well worth the support of a

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foundation to allow KING to continue and expand his work in Chicago.

LEVISON inquired if KING had given any thought to a couple of days of deliberating. KING said he had and, in fact, had been contacted by BAYARD RUSTIN, who suggested a meeting to discuss where things stood and to determine their future direction in view of the internal conflicts which now exist in the civil rights movement. KING said he was very much in favor of a meeting but would be unable to remain in New York City the following week since he had to be in Chicago on July 27, 1966. He suggested the meeting for July 28-29, 1966, in Chicago, Illinois.

LEVISON told KING that he felt an examination was due concerning where the civil rights movement stood in relation to the whole decade. He said this was due to a very fundamental change in the white power structure. He contended that the Negro ceased being an under dog after Selma and as a consequence, they were reaching areas where it was not easy for the white power structure to give cheap victories and concessions to the civil rights movement because it paid for them in either money, political influence or a substantial change in its social relationship. LEVISON pointed out that the mayors of the nation's three largest cities, New York, Chicago and Los Angeles, had hardened and insisted that there was a reason why they were so firm in not making concessions at this time. LEVISON said "they" were coming to "hard rock" and it was important to realize it in order to understand what kind of conditions were possible.

LEVISON said he had a difference of opinion with BAYARD RUSTIN about "the way coalition is expressed" and insisted that coalition always means that "the self-interest of the other group is served by the coalition". LEVISON said if he could not see that the other group had a self-interest, he did not expect them to stay as allies.

In concluding their contact, LEVISON and KING agreed that the following should attend the Chicago discussion on July 28-29, 1966: LEVISON, KING, RUSTIN, CLARENCE JONES, HARRY WACHTEL, RALPH HELSTEIN, BOB GREENE, ANDREW YOUNG

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and RANDOLPH BLACKWELL. [redacted]

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On July 24, 1966, CLARENCE JONES was advised by STANLEY LEVISON that a SCLC Board meeting planned for New York City on July 26, 1966, had been cancelled. Additionally, the meeting of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and his advisors scheduled for July 28-29, 1966, had been re-scheduled for August 1-2, 1966, at O'Hare Airport Inn, Chicago, Illinois. X(u)

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On July 26, 1966, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., advised STANLEY LEVISON that a meeting of SCLC's affiliate, the American Foundation for Non-Violence, would be held in the Gibson Suite, New York Hilton Hotel, New York City, on July 26, 1966. KING requested LEVISON to attend and stated CLARENCE JONES, HARRY WACHTEL and BAYARD RUSTIN would attend. [redacted]

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On July 26, 1966, Special Agents of the FBI observed the schedule of events at the New York Hilton Hotel, and saw that a meeting of the Board of the American Foundation for Non-Violence was scheduled for 2:30 P.M., July 26, 1966, in the Gibson Suite. u

The Special Agents of the FBI observed the following individuals, among others, enter the Gibson Suite, Hilton Hotel, between 2:20 P.M. and 3:10 P.M., July 26, 1966: STANLEY LEVISON, 2:20 P.M.; CLARENCE JONES, 2:25 P.M.; JOHN LEWIS of the Student Non-Violence Coordinating Committee, 2:27 P.M.; HARRY WACHTEL, 2:44 P.M.; BAYARD RUSTIN, 3:00 P.M.; and MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and ANDREW YOUNG at 3:10 P.M. u

CLARENCE JONES, HARRY WACHTEL and STANLEY LEVISON intended to take the same airplane to Chicago, Illinois, [redacted]

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on August 1, 1966, for a meeting with MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

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On August 12, 1966, STANLEY LEVISON and MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., were in contact. LEVISON stated he was concerned about KING's health. KING said he was felled by a cold but hoped to be back on the go by August 13, 1966. He said he got sick during the SCLC Convention, held in Jackson, Mississippi, last week. He said the cold prevented him from attending the Convention, except for the opening session.

LEVISON said he was unable to attend the Convention due to pressing personal business. LEVISON inquired if the SCLC heard the two resolutions that he drafted for the occasion. KING said he took one of the resolutions and used it in his speech. In fact, according to KING, he just gave the resolution to the press and told them it represented what he would say when he spoke.

LEVISON said in regard to the other resolution he prepared, that "The New York Times" had reported portions of it dealing with Viet Nam. Both men agreed that the Convention was given very good coverage by the press.

In reference to the resolution by LEVISON which KING used at his speech, LEVISON said since it dealt with non-violence he was of the opinion that a book dealing with the subject should be written. LEVISON said "We're" at a real turn in the movement; a lot of people, he said, are asking questions, and are drawing conclusions and switching positions. KING concurred with LEVISON and agreed that a book should be gotten out as quickly as possible.

Following his return from vacation, LEVISON stated he would contact KING and discuss the book in greater detail.

Another matter discussed by KING and LEVISON was the bill owed to an advertising agency which recently had

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run a full page statement in "The New York Times". The bill in the amount of $4,400.00 was for the statement on the SCLC's efforts in Chicago and Mississippi and Black Power. LEVISON said the agency had not charged their usual fifteen per cent commission.

In considering the advertisement in question, LEVISON said he knew of one donation in the amount of $5,000.00 which resulted from the appeal.

KING said there would probably be a meeting on Monday to consider bills owed by the SCLC. KING stated the SCLC had been "kind of out financially and the Convention knocked us out even more". KING said he was quite worried over the SCLC's financial difficulties.

LEVISON stated that as a result of a mailing to contributors there should be funds in a few days. LEVISON said he forecast about 400,000 mailings during 1966, adding, however, that funds derived from SCLC mailings did not provide sufficient funds to operate the SCLC. He then expressed the opinion that fund raising affairs would have to be held in New York, New York, in order to have sufficient operating funds.

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On September 6, 1966, a conference was held by MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. It included, in addition to KING, STANLEY LEVISON, HARRY WACHTEL, LAWRENCE REDDICK, CLEVELAND ROBINSON, Secretary-Treasurer of Local 65, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers, American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations, BAYARD RUSTIN, CLARENCE JONES, JUNIUS BRIGGS (phonetic), RALPH CRANSTON (phonetic) and WALTER THORCASE (phonetic).

The conference was called to hear and discuss a letter over KING's signature which was scheduled to be distributed to the Negro youth of America. The letter, which was actually written by RUSTIN, implores the Negro

youth of America to adhere to non-violent tactics in trying to obtain equality.

RUSTIN said the letter would be read on the National Broadcasting System on September 12, 1966, and will be mailed to two categories: (A) Boys Clubs, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, settlement houses, basketball teams and other organizations where Negroes between the ages of 16-25 can be reached; (B) Negro ministers, Negro Press, Negro college presidents, high school principals, fraternal organizations and to unions with large memberships. RUSTIN said KING should not read the letter alone but, instead, should have A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, President of the Negro American Labor Council, present in order to protect KING from fallout. RUSTIN said not many people dared attack RANDOLPH.

The following, in essence, is what the letter contained:

KING said he was writing not as a civil rights leader, but as a father deeply concerned about the future of his own children. Not since the time he joined the Freedom Movement had he ever felt so much grief. As the new school term opens, KING noted, many of the youth of America desire to go to school but have insufficient resources with which to do so. KING remarked that only yesterday, September 6, 1966, he wired President JOHNSON urging him to make available enough funds so that all poor young persons in the country could return to school.

KING noted in the letter that he urged the President to place before Congress a bill to create public works to provide meaningful employment for every able-bodied young person who needs it, whatever his present skills, his training or his color. KING said he was convinced that the tragic ordeals "we" had passed through this summer were the results of fear, frustration and hopelessness on both sides that springs from our nation's failure to make it possible for all youth, especially Negroes, to obtain quality integrated education and dignified work.

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Continuing, KING said the progress which had been made in race relations was derived from demonstrations which were free of bitterness, hatred and violence. "We", KING stated, must not let a tiny minority of hateful bigots provoke us into emotional behavior, into actions which would destroy our movement and separate us from others in society whose help we sorely need. "We", KING continued, must not fall into this racist trap. He implored the Negro youth, to whom he was writing, to remember that Molatov cocktails, looting and hating cannot, and would not, solve the problems "we" really care about.

In conclusion, KING urged the youth to be prepared to use their energy in non-violent mass action protests in their community.

Following RUSTIN's reading of this letter, KING stated the letter should also be aimed at the white people. He said to do otherwise could result in him being branded as an "Uncle Tom".

STANLEY LEVISON said he did not like the statement that KING had contacted President JOHNSON about unemployment and jobs. His objection was over the fact that KING had already asked the President about ninety times, although nothing had come of it. As an alternative, LEVISON said President JOHNSON should be "threatened" by stating that if no action is forthcoming by May, 1967, KING and RANDOLPH would have a march on Washington. LEVISON's suggestion was not well received by the other conferences. In fact, as an alternative, CLEVELAND ROBINSON wanted something about the Peace Movement included in the letter. He said the peace issue was a basic issue in view of the many Negroes in Viet Nam.

HARRY WACHTEL suggested KING hold a meeting in the next three or four days to plan the letter more objectively. RUSTIN said he would dress up the letter before KING's arrival in New York City on Sunday night.

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LAWRENCE REDDICK

This source advised he knew LAWRENCE REDDICK to be a concealed member of the CP.

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On February 5 and 11, 1954, LAWRENCE DUNBAR REDDICK was interviewed by Special Agents of the FBI at Atlanta, Georgia. He, at that time, stated that he was not, and had never been, a member of, or a sympathizer with, the CP.

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On September 9, 1966, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and STANLEY LEVISON were in contact. LEVISON said GEORGE WILEY, former Associate Director of the Congress of Racial Equality, was interested in working for SCLC and wanted to set a time when he could see KING. KING said he would have to see him in Chicago, Illinois, since he would not have time to see him while in New York City on September 11, 1966. In the event WILEY and the SCLC can agree to terms, WILEY could work in Atlanta, KING told LEVISON. KING said such an arrangement would be quite

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satisfactory since they reorganized the administrate set-up in Atlanta.

In elaborating on the break-down of the SCLC, KING said they have four divisions: HOSEA WILLIAMS is the Southern Projects Director; EVEROL (phonetic) is the Northern Projects Director; there is an Organizational Program Division which includes citizenship education, the affiliates, the departments, "Operation Birdbath", Operation Dialog, Economic Affairs, all of which are headed by DOROTHY COTTON; and finally, JUNIUS GRIFFIN is Director of the Fourth Division dealing with Administration, Public Relations, Office Staff and the general flow of fund raising.

KING said the SCLC also has a steering committee composed of seven people and the four division heads. This body, according to him, meets every Monday at 10:00 A.M. to handle adminstrative matters. No expenditures, KING said, can be made without the approval of the committee.

LEVISON told KING he would like to get together with him for the purpose of considering a new book. LEVISON said he thought the time was right for one and would travel out to Chicago to discuss it with KING. KING said he would notify LEVISON as to when he should come out for that purpose.

Another matter considered was the resignation of JULIAN BOND from the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). KING said JULIAN desired to work for the SCLC but would have to wait for things to cool down. BOND preferred to wait rather than give the impression that he was deserting SNCC. LEVISON commented that KING and the SCLC should be able to get the better civil rights people who are leaving other civil rights organizations.

In reference to the recent distrubance in Atlanta, KING said SNCC was rejected by the Negroes. SNCC was told by Negroes that they did not like the slums but preferred them over guns and violence.

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In reply to a question from LEVISON as to whether KING felt "Black Power" was waning in terms of a viable force, KING answered affirmatively, commenting that the press was keeping it alive and representing it to be more than it was.

LEVISON told about a recent conversation CLARENCE JONES had with STOKELY CARMICHAEL. JONES concluded that CARMICHAEL was a very dangerous man. JONES described him as a black nationalist. KING was of the opinion that CARMICHAEL would serve a prison sentence as a consequence of the riot. He added that he did not agree with the charge of having incited a riot and in line with American jurisprudence he would say he is innocent until he is proven guilty. In planning what he would say during a press conference that night, KING said he should say just that if asked about CARMICHAEL. KING said he thought he could get away with such an answer for the time being but that CARMICHAEL would eventually seek his support. LEVISON said if CARMICHAEL should be convicted of inciting a riot, "they" would have to blame those forces which compelled the riot.

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On September 20, 1966, STANLEY LEVISON was in contact with RACHEL DUBOIS, representative of Project Dialogue, SCLC.

They discussed a foundation which is being set up or was recently formed by the SCLC. LEVISON said he was going to Chicago on September 26, 1966, to handle legal papers concerning the foundation.

LEVISON and RACHEL also discussed two articles which were reported in "The New York Times" on September 19-20, 1966, dealing with the civil rights movement.

LEVISON said the articles were a disgrace because they quoted certain people as saying the liberal support for the civil rights movement was decreasing due to their disenchantment with the recent riots. One of the people with whom LEVISON disagreed was one Rabbi SIGMOND (phonetic).

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LEVISON said the Rabbi had absolutely no knowledge concerning the civil rights movement. LEVISON said he felt "they" were witnessing a propaganda drive to drive away white liberals from the civil rights movement.

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On September 21, 1966, there was a contact between STANLEY LEVISON and MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. They considered ways to increase their efforts in fund raising activities such as benefits and freedom rallies for SCLC.

LEVISON maintained that the Congress of Racial Equality had formerly attracted many performers to benefits but were now unable to attract them and recommended that the SCLC move into this area to pick up the "sure-fire money" that is available. KING said the SCLC should seek the services of one person to concentrate in the fund-raising area, outside of mailings, and give him the authority to coordinate benefits, freedom rallies as well as to find a way to get to the Negro community to raise money. KING said he still "feels the money is there and it's just that we have not mobilized to get it". LEVISON agreed and pointed out that he had been told by a fund-raiser for the Legal Defense Fund, which has a highly paid professional staff, that they have been able to build up over the years in Chicago, contributions from Negroes of $70,000.00, including seventeen pledges of $1,000.00 per year.

LEVISON said in order to put some "flesh and blood" into the foundation, he was going to Chicago on September 27, 1966, to see CHAUNCEY ESKRIDGE, Chicago Attorney. LEVISON said CHAUNCEY has a fund-raiser named FELDSTEIN (phonetic) who wants to discuss doing the job for the foundation. LEVISON told KING nothing could be lost by discussing with FELDSTEIN a professional arrangement,

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whereby he could approach foundations, with his remuneration to be based on a reasonable contingent basis. LEVISON told KING that he thought SCLC should get "that foundation" formalized.

KING inquired if LEVISON had heard anything about yesterday's meeting concerning Congressman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL. LEVISON said he read in last night's paper that POWELL was going to compromise with those who want to strip him of his position. KING said he had not yet issued a statement on the POWELL matter. LEVISON advised him to sit it out if at all possible.

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On September 29, 1966, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and STANLEY LEVISON were in contact. LEVISON said Dr. KENNETH CLARK, Professor at City College of New York City, wanted to talk to KING in the near future about a meeting he had recently with STOKELY CARMICHAEL. KING said he would get in touch with CLARK. New York, N.Y.

KING mentioned that he got "sick" when LESTER MADDOX was chosen as the Democreatic nominee for Governor of Georgia. He added that the could see that sickness developing in the entire nation. He said he could see a tragic development taking place and that Black Power was at its most powerless point right now.

KING said in view of the black power issue, he wanted to have a two or three day meeting to decide what to do about it. He said he had observed that the SCLC staff was in a state of confusion over recent events.

KING also mentioned that WHITNEY YOUNG, Executive Director of the Urban League, had called him to relate that he was upset about the nation as a whole and with the "white America which sends them to war against poverty and does not give them the instruments". According to KING, YOUNG believes something must be done to shock "white America"

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and that he (YOUNG) was so depressed he was thinking about resigning. KING said he was also thinking about the same. LEVISON commented that resigning would not be shocking enough to "White America".

In regard to a Police Review Board in New York City, LEVISON opined that the odds were against the enactment of the necessary legislation for such a Board. He said the key vote would be the Jewish vote. He suggested that KING talk with Rabbis about the Board and the "backlash".

The contact between the two men ended with LEVISON saying "they" were going to get Senator JAVITS and/or Senator ROBERT KENNEDY to talk with the Rabbis about strengthening their stand on the Police Review Board.

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On October 1, 1965, CLARENCE JONES and STANLEY LEVISON were in contact. JONES remarked that he was going to Chicago, Illinois, later during the day. He said he also learned that the benefit show which had been scheduled for the SCLC had been postponed due to the illness of Sammy Davis. LEVISON remarked he was glad it had been postponed since very little effort had been expended to make the show a success.

LEVISON mentioned that MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., was in Atlanta and was very upset and depressed over events in the country. LEVISON remarked that KING had been talking and making speeches and did not know what he was saying, as a result of his depression. LEVISON said he suggested to KING that he hold a three day conference with the Research Committee in New York or Chicago during the week of October 10, 1966. KING had agreed. This meeting, LEVISON said, would be followed by SCLC staff meetings.

JONES remarked that talks were needed very much; that he personally had some arguments with some close friends of his; that while he felt very strongly that white racism was fundamentally the problem in terms of coalition with white forces in America, there was no person in the civil rights movement who ideologically was taking issue with STOKELY

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CARMICHAEL. He said he thought CARMICHAEL was reaping political havoc, that he must be isolated as though he were a "black Trotskyite". CARMICHAEL, JONES said, is insane and that nobody was going after him with hammer and tong and there was too much toleration of him. According to JONES, there comes a time in a political movement when you have to call a spade a spade.

You have to fight for the supremacy of your theory, if your theory is being attacked, you have to isolate those people who are trying to destroy it. LEVISON and JONES concurred that what happened in Georgia, the nomination of LESTER MADDOX to be the Democratic candidate for Governor, was incredible and did not have to happen if "that idiot STOKELY" did not start a riot in Atlanta. They agreed that CARMICHAEL must be politically isolated. If he is not, JONES said, he could forsee no way of bringing about a successful alliance. LEVISON opined that CARMICHAEL, by leading a small group into battle at the wrong time, did more damage to the civil rights movement than one who was a paid agent.

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LEVISON disclosed to JONES that he went to Chicago, Illinois, earlier in the week and observed SCLC active in trying to organize hospital workers and other service.

JONES inquired concerning who was running SCLC at this time. LEVISON said HOSEA WILLIAMS is in charge of "Southern direct action", JAMES BEVEL, is Director of "Northern direct action"; DOROTHY COTTON is in charge of citizenship training, and FRED BENNETT is in charge of public relations.

LEVISON stated ANDREW YOUNG was now running SCLC in his own style while HOSEA WILLIAMS and JAMES BEVEL are doing pretty much what they want to do.

LEVISON said KING had told him that a desperate need exists for a director in Chicago and that GEORGE WILEY is a possibility for the task. Furthermore, KING cited financial problems as another burden of the SCLC and suggested "we" get busy with benefits and freedom rallies.

JONES told of KENNETH CLARK's desire to see KING when he returns to New York. LEVISON said he (CLARK) had been working on two grants: one for the establishment of a place, under the guise of a fellowship, where civil rights leaders could go for rest, reflection and meetings. LEVISON

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did not describe the other grant. JONES mentioned that CLARK is getting funds from the Ford Foundation. He also mentioned that DOUG PRUITT (phonetic) went to the Ford Foundation and is scheduled to become the special assistant to MC GEORGE BUNDY, Director of the Ford Foundation. PRUITT, JONES added, wants to get in touch with most civil rights leaders to get their ideas on how the Ford Foundation can be most effective. LEVISON said PRUITT had mentioned to him that the Foundation has an interest in dealing with poverty in the ghetto. And as a consequence LEVISON remarked, SCLC should develop some outlines and try for a response from the Foundation.

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1. APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Lawyers Guild:

"National Lawyers Guild

"1. Cited as a Communist front. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.)

"2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.' (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)

"3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.' (Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

New York, New York
October 24, 1966

SECRET

Bureau 100-438794
New York 100-149194

Title Communist Infiltration of Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Character Internal Security - C

Reference is made to report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above, at New York.

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All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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